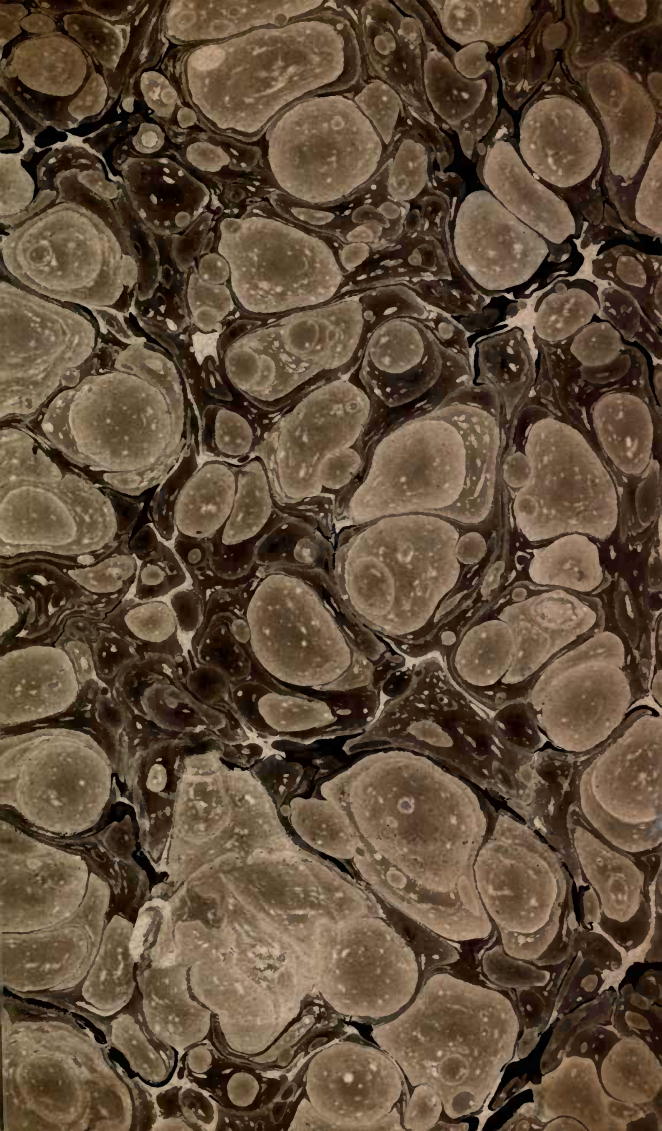






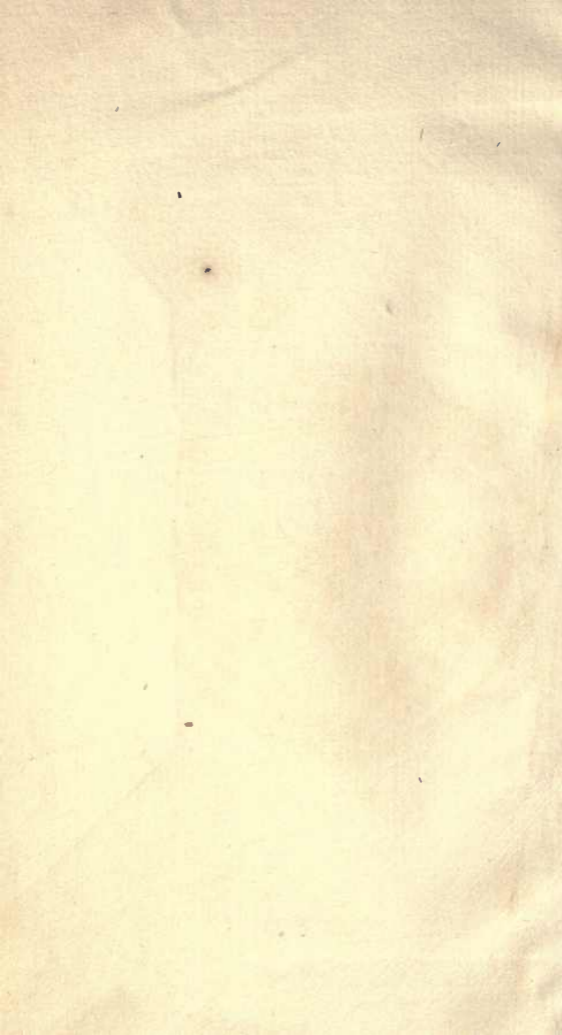
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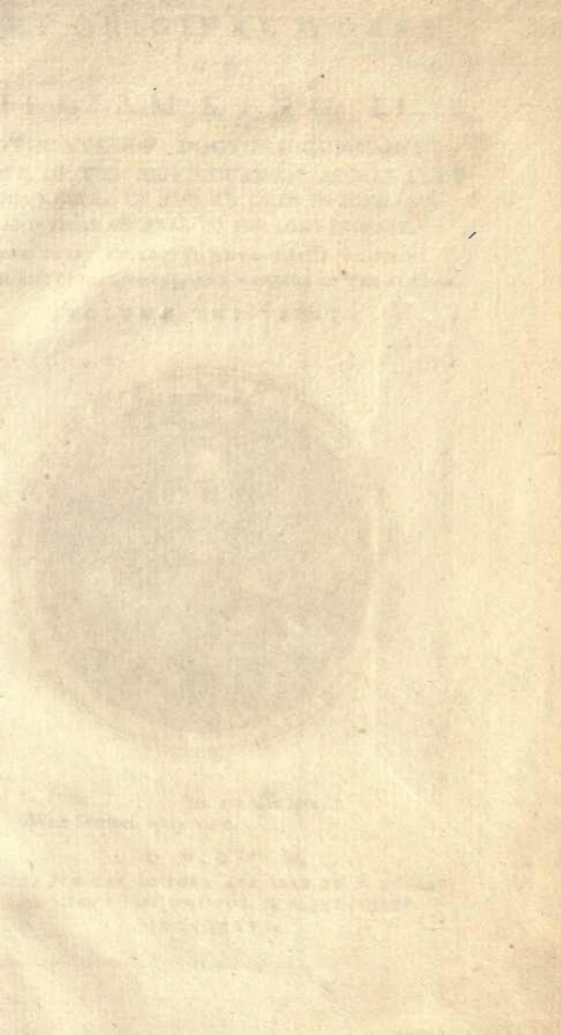


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ADVOCATE OF DOCTORS COMMONS;
JUDGE OF THE HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY
AND KEEPER OF THE RECORDS IN IRELAND,
AND VICAR GENERAL TO THE LORD PRIMATE.
NOW FIRST COLLECTED INTO THREE VOLUMES:
WITH HISTORICAL NOTES, AND MEMOIRS OF THE AUTHOR.
VOLUME THE FIRST.



His eye was keen,
With sweetness aptly mix'd.

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IN HISTORICAL NOTES, AND NUMBERED BY THE AUTHOR.

VOLUME THE SECOND



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THE PHILANTHROPIST,

WHO READS WITH A DISPOSITION TO BE PLEASED;

AND SUCH IS THE PATRON

OUR AUTHOR WOULD HIMSELF HAVE CHOSEN;

THESE VOLUMES ARE INSCRIBED,

IN FULL CONFIDENCE OF

THEIR MEETING WITH A LIBERAL PROTECTION,

THOUGH USHERED INTO THE WORLD BY

AN ANONYMOUS EDITOR.

737209

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

TO BE READ WITH A RESOLUTION TO BE RECALLED

AND SUCH IS THE FATE OF

OUR FUTURE WOULD HIMSELF HAVE CHOSEN;

THESE VOLUMES ARE RECALLED,

IN FULL COMPLIANCE OF

THEIR MEETING WITH A LIBERAL PROPOSITION,

THOUGH NEEDED INTO THE WORLD BY

AN ANONYMOUS EDITOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Editor of these Miscellanies will not trespass on the Reader's patience by expatiating on their value. The peculiar vein of humour which distinguished Dr. King, receiving fresh graces from the benevolence of his heart, as it secured him the esteem of some of the best and greatest of his contemporaries, needs no better recommendation than an appeal to his Writings. From the scattered manner, however, in which they have been hitherto published, but few of his admirers have been able to obtain a complete copy. That inconvenience is here remedied; and some pieces are preserved, which, though they add greatly to our Author's reputation, were in danger of being lost to the world.

For the NOTES, indeed, some apology may be expected: yet the Editor will rather trust to the candour of the Reader, whose convenience he hath endeavoured to consult, than meanly ask for applause under a pretence of pointing out their defects. If, in some few instances, he hath said too much, let it be under-

viii A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

stood as his idea, that every book should contain within itself its necessary explanation; and if (by giving in the compass of a few lines some dates or interesting events in the life of a remarkable person) the Reader is saved the trouble of searching through many volumes, he flatters himself he hath performed a service not wholly unacceptable.

March 30, 1776.

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S

O F

D R. K I N G.

OUR Author was the son of Ezekiel King, gentleman, of London; and had the honour of being allied to the noble houses of Clarendon and Rochester^a. He was born in 1663, bred with the strictest care from infancy, and, at a proper age placed, as a king's scholar, under the tuition of Dr. Busby, at Westminster school; where his natural good talents received such improvements from cultivation, as might be expected from so admirable a master. From Westminster he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford; and admitted a student there, in Michaelmas term, 1681, at eighteen years of age^b. Happy in this situation, he made use of the advantages it gave him. He had a strong propensity to letters; and of those valuable treasures he daily increased his stock.

Early in life, Mr. King became possessed of a small paternal estate in Middlesex. From his occasionally mentioning "his tenants in Northampton and Leicestershire^c," his Biographers have supposed him to have been a land-holder also in those counties; but, as we have no other authority for

^a In his *Adversaria*, p. 261, of this volume, he calls lord Harcourt his cousin; and see what he says, p. 244, of his great grandfather.

^b Wood, *Ath.Ox.* vol. II. col. 1064.

^c See p. 50, of this volume.

such a supposition, it appears of little weight. They are mentioned only as *inland* places, and therefore adding greater strength to the ridicule that passage throws on Mr. Moleworth.

From the circumstance, however, of his going out Com-pounder^d when he took his first degree, it is plain that he had a tolerable fortune, which enabled him to indulge his genius and inclination in the choice and method of his studies; ranging freely and at large through the pleasant fields of polite literature, and ravished with the sweet pursuit, he prosecuted it with incredible diligence and assiduity.

He took his first degree in arts, Dec. 8, 1685; proceeded regularly to M. A. July 6, 1688; and the same year commenced Author.

A religious turn of mind, joined to the warmest regard for the honour of his country, prompted him to rescue the character and name of Wickliffe, our first Reformer, from the calumnies of Mons. Varillas. The thing had been publicly requested also, as a proper undertaking for such as were at leisure, and would take the trouble. Mr. King, therefore, deeming himself to be thus called forth to the charge, readily entered the lists; and, with a proper mixture of wit and learning, handsomely exposed the blunders of that French author, in "Reflections upon Mons. Varillas's History of
" Herefy, Book I. Tom. I. so far as relates to English mat-
" ters, more especially those of Wickliffe^e."

About this time, having fixed on the Civil Law for his profession, he entered upon that line in the University.

In 1690, he translated, from the French of Monsieur and Madame Dacier, "The Life of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the Roman Emperor; together with some select Remarks on the said Antoninus's Meditations concerning himself, treating of a natural Man's Happiness, &c. as also upon the Life of Antoninus^f."

About the same time he wrote "A Dialogue shewing the way to Modern Preferment^g;" a droll satire, which contains

^d Wood, Fasti, vol. II. p. 226.

^e Mr. Edward Haines, another young student of Christ Church, had also a hand in this tract, which is the first in the present collection. See vol. III. p. 296.

^f Athen. Ox. ubi supra.

^g Printed in vol. I. p. 182.

some solid truths, under the disguise of a conversation between three illustrious personages; the Tooth-drawer to Cardinal Porto Carero, the Corn-cutter to Pope Innocent XI, and the Receiver General to an Ottoman Mufti.

July 7, 1692, he took his degree of Bachelor and Doctor in Laws; and Nov. 12, that year, by the favour of Dr. Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, obtained a *Fiat*, which, admitting him an Advocate at Doctor's Commons, enabled him to plead in the Courts of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law.

In 1693, he published a translation of "New Manners and Characters of the two great Brothers, the Duke of Bouillon and Marechal Turenne, written in French by James de Langlade, Baron of Saumieres." The Translator's Dedication, to his "honoured friend Sir Edmund Warcup," is printed in this collection^h.

Either in this or early in the following year, appeared a very extraordinary *morceau*, under the title of "An Answer to a Book, which will be published next week, intituled, A Letter to the Reverend Dr. South, upon occasion of a late Book, intituled Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock's Book, intituled, A Vindication of the Holy and Ever-blessed Trinity. Being a Letter to the Author." What effect this had in favour of Dr. South, may be seen in Dr. King's own wordsⁱ.

In August 1694, Mr. Molesworth publishing his "Account of Denmark as it was in the year 1692," our Author took up his pen once more in his country's cause, the honour of which was thought to be blemished by that account; Mr. Scheel, the Danish Minister, having presented a memorial against it^k. Animated with this spirit, he drew up a censure of it, which he printed in 1694, under the title of "Animadversions on the pretended account of Denmark^l." This was so much approved by Prince George, consort to the Princess Anne, that the Doctor was soon after appointed secretary to her Royal Highness^m.

^h Vol. III. p. 288.

ⁱ Vol. I. p. 219.

^k See vol. I. p. 59.

^l Vol. I. p. 35.

^m Ath. Ox. vol. II. col. 914.

It may not be improper to mention in this place, that Mr. Molesworth's book underwent another examination, the same year, in "Denmark vindicated, being an Answer to a late Treatise, called, An Account of Denmark as it was in the year 1692, sent from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in London." This Writer, who dedicates to Prince George, and signs himself J. C. D. has taken up the matter in a very serious point of view, and left the whole field of pleasantry and ridicule to Dr. King, which, in his able hands, appears to have been the most successful method of attack.

In 1697, he took a share with his fellow-collegians at Christ Church, in the memorable dispute about the genuineness of Phalaris's Epistles. His first appearance in that controversy was owing to his being accidentally present at a conversation between Dr. Bentley and Mr. Bennet the bookseller, concerning the MS. of Phalaris in the King's Library. Mr. Boyle, when answering Dr. Bentley's Dissertation, applied to our Author for the particulars of what passed on that occasion; which he received in the short but expressive Letterⁿ which Mr. Boyle has printed in his book, in 1698^o, with the

ⁿ Vol. I. p. 141.

^o As few controversial pieces were ever written in finer language, or more artfully, than this "Examination;" so none perhaps ever abounded so much in wit, ridicule, and satire; the point being not so much to confute, as to expose, the learned Dissertator: for Mr. Boyle, in his Preface to the "Epistles of Phalaris," had signified his own distrust of their genuineness, and, in effect, declared himself very indifferent about it. Bentley, on the other hand, who had nothing in view but to support what he had asserted, by proving the Epistles spurious, though he is far from being destitute of strokes of humourous satire, abounded chiefly in argument and erudition; and by these gained over all the Reasoners and the Learned, while the Laughers, who make an infinite majority, were carried away by the art of Mr. Boyle's performance. In short, though the haughtiness, the insolence, the rude temper, and pedantry, of Dr. Bentley, made him justly odious; yet, to give him his due, his "Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris," with his answer to the objections of Mr. Boyle, is one of the most illustrious monuments of sagacity, nice discernment, skill in criticism, and depth of erudition, that ever was erected by a man of letters. If, to use the words of Mr.

Boyle,

the testimonies of Mr. Bennet and Mr. Gibson (who had been employed as the Collator). Stung by these stubborn facts, Dr. Bentley, in the enlarged edition of his Dissertation, 1699, endeavoured to invalidate their force, by an attempt to weaken the credibility of the witnesses. On Dr. King, in particular, he has condescended to bestow near eight pages of his Preface, a short specimen of which is annexed to the Letter we have last referred to. In a second letter to Mr. Boyle^p, our Author, with great modesty, refutes the groundless calumny, and proves that Dr. Bentley himself has confirmed his testimony in every particular, but the having omitted the great Critic's beautiful similitude of "a squeezed orange."

In the progress of the controversy^q, Dr. King published his "Dialogues of the Dead^r," written (as he says) "in self-defence," and replete with that admirable species of banter which was his peculiar talent, and which must have abundantly mortified his adversary's vanity. How much Dr. King had this controversy at heart, may be seen by the various Memoranda concerning it which are scattered up and down his works^t.

At the end of 1698, or early in 1699, came out "A Journey to London in the year 1698, after the ingenious Method of that made by Dr. Martin Lister the same year^t;" which he designed as a vindication of his country. This was a specimen of that particular humour in which he

Boyle, in the Preface to his "Examination," he did "carry his criticism so far as to assert, not only of Phalaris, but of his Editor also, that they neither of them wrote what was ascribed to them," he went no farther than the discerning, unprejudiced, and learned part of the public went with him. What share Mr. Boyle had in the edition of Phalaris, which no doubt he was put upon to raise a little reputation in letters, is not easy to determine: but many are of opinion, that the "Examination," though published with his name, was in reality no part of it his. It was then, and has since been, generally ascribed to Dean Aldrich, Dr. Atterbury, Dr. John Freind, Dr. Smallridge, and other wits of Christ Church, who contributed their quotas in this work, for the sake of humbling the redoubtable Bentley, whom they heartily hated.

^p Vol. I. p. 142.

^q Of which see some account, vol. I. p. 135, and vol. III. p. 296.

^r Vol. I. p. 144.

^t Particularly in the Adversaria.

^u Vol. I. p. 187.

excelled, and the charms of which proved irresistible. A Writer, it must be allowed, is not always the most unexceptionable judge of his own productions. But it is plain that Dr. King thought it better than any of his former works, as he frequently wrote afterwards under the name of "The Author of the Journey to London."

It has been pretty generally allowed, that Dr. King, though he could not endure his business as an Advocate, made an excellent Judge in the Court of Delegates, as often as he was called to that Bench^v. The fatigue, however, of a Civilian's duty was too great for his natural indolence; and he retired to his student's place at Christ Church, to indulge his predominant attachment at better leisure.

From this time, giving way to that *fuga negotii* so incident to the poetical race, he passed his days in the pursuit of the same ravishing images, which, being aptly moulded, came abroad in manuscript, in the form of pleasant tales and other pieces in verse, at various times, as they happened to be finished. Many of these he afterwards collected, and published them, together with some other pieces, in his "Miscellanies," prefixing this remark in the Preface concerning them: "The remaining papers which are here must seek their fate: they were abroad in manuscript; and I hope will not have harder fortune now they are in print than they had in the opinion of some friends before they were so."

In 1700, he published, without a name, a severe satire on the credulity of Sir Hans Sloane, intituled, "The Transactioner," with some of his Philosophical Fancies, in "two Dialogues." The irony in this tract is admirable; and it must be acknowledged, notwithstanding the deservedly high character of that great physician and able naturalist, that our Author has in many places discovered the vulnerable heel

^v All appeals from the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts are (agreeably to Stat. 25 Hen. VIII.) determined by a Court of Delegates, consisting of three Common-law Judges, and five Civilians; from whose sentence there is no further appeal: but, upon good reasons assigned, the Lord Chancellor may grant a commission of review. All the Advocates residing in Doctors Commons, are occasionally members of this high court, his Majesty's commission usually selecting them in rotation.

^w Printed in vol. II. p. 1. See the Preface prefixed to it.

of Achilles, and that his satirical observations are well founded. These reflections, however severe they may fall on the Secretary, extend not to the respectable body on which, at first view, they may appear to glance. The "Transactions," from the beginning to the year 1751, were always considered as the publication of the respective Secretaries; and even since that period, the Society, as a body, disclaims, in a public advertisement, the being accountable for any particular paper which may appear in the work. It is acknowledged, that, since their incorporation, April 22, 1663, the Royal Society has made a much greater progress in true natural knowledge, than had before been made from the beginning of the world. They have carried their researches into every part of the creation, and have still discovered new wonders. It is true their minute enquiries have been occasionally the subject of ridicule, as the best writings are said to be the properest subjects for burlesque; but scoffers should consider, that the wings of the butterfly were painted by the same Almighty hand that made the sun*.

Early in 1701, Dr. King was recalled to the busy scenes of life. His friend James the third earl of Anglesea (who had succeeded to that title April 1, 1690), married, Oct. 28, 1699, the lady Catharine Darnley, natural daughter to King James II, by Catharine countess of Dorchester^y, and had by her one daughter. After living together little more than one year, a dispute arose between them, which ended not but in a separation. Lord Anglesea solicited the assistance of Dr. King; and the force of friendship prevailed over his natural aversion to the wrangling of the bar. He complied with the request; took abundant pains for his old friend, more than he was ever known to do; and made such a figure in the Earl's defence, as shewed him to have had abilities in his profession equal to any occasion that might call for them, and effectually established his reputation in the character of a Civilian, as he had already done in that of a polite Writer. His Biographers having been regularly mistaken in mentioning of this circumstance, by supposing it to have happened *after* his return from Ireland in 1708; we shall add here a few dates, to ascertain the precise period. Feb. 25,

* See Mr. Granger's "Biographical History," vol. I. p. 81; a work to which we gratefully acknowledge many obligations.

^y Of whom, see vol. III. p. 74; and Granger, vol. IV. p. 330.

1700-1, the countess petitioned the upper house of parliament, "that her lord might waive his privilege, or that she might have leave to bring in a bill of separation, for his cruelty." Two days after, their lordships were pleased to direct the earl of Rochester, lord Ferrers, lord Haversham, and lord Somers, to go to the lady Anglesea, and endeavour to persuade her to return to her husband, and to let her know that the earl declared he was ready to receive her, and, upon her submission and good behaviour, would treat her with kindness; and that, in all cases, she should be safe from any violence. March 3, the earl of Rochester gave the house an account of their friendly negotiation; which in the end proved fruitless. The same day, leave was given to bring in a bill for their separation; against which lord Haversham² singly

² John Thompson, esq; of Haversham in Buckinghamshire, through the influence of his father, who had taken up arms against the royal party in the civil war, was bred in republican principles, which took deep root in him from his acquaintance with Thomas lord Wharton; who introduced him to the friendship and esteem of Arthur Annesley, the first earl of Anglesea of that name, then lord privy seal; a great favourer of the Dissenters, and whose daughter Mr. Thompson married. This match brought him into the good graces of Charles II, who would have preferred him, but that he found him unwilling to comply with the court measures. However, he was created a baronet in 1673; but refused a place. In parliament he was a constant opposer of arbitrary measures, and a strenuous promoter of the exclusion bill. In 1688, he was one of the first who signed the association, and was afterwards much consulted by king William. In 1696, he was created baron of Haversham, and made one of the lords of the admiralty; in which post he continued till March 1701; when, the earl of Pembroke being appointed lord high admiral, he was so disgusted, that he took every opportunity of opposing the court. On the death of king William, he was desirous of being well with the new ministry; but, not finding any good effects from his visits to them, continued in opposition. In 1706, he was violent against the Union. In 1707, he became a constant communicant of the established church, occasioned, as was said, by the rigid Presbyterian ministers refusing him the sacrament for living in too great familiarity in his first lady's time with his housekeeper Mrs. Graham, whom he married in May 1709. In 1709-10, he made a speech in defence of Sacheverell and the church; and soon after had the satisfaction to see a total change of the ministry which he had so warmly opposed.—He died Nov. 1, 1710-11.

entered a spirited protest, from arguments suggested by the Civilians; most probably from Dr. King, on whom lord Anglesea so much depended. The bill was brought in, March 6; and, after repeated hearings of counsel, civilians, and witnesses, and a solemn declaration from the countess, "that she thought her life would be in danger if she should again live with the earl," it was passed, April 29, 1701; agreed to by the commons, May 14; and received the royal assent, June 12. The earl died Jan. 21, 1701-2; and his lady was a second time married, March 1, 1705, to John Sheffield, duke of Buckingham and Normanby, who had before had two wives. She died March 13, 1742-3: her character, which is somewhat extraordinary, and is said to have been written by herself, may be seen in Mr. Pope's works, vol. VIII.

Notwithstanding the reputation acquired by Dr. King in the progress of lord Anglesea's cause, a cause which demonstrated his shining abilities; it must be acknowledged, he never afterwards attained any striking eminence in a profession where constant assiduity and a long course of years are requisites for the acquisition of fame. Captivated by the Muses, he neglected business, and, by degrees, as is natural to such tempers, began to dread and abhor it. Heedless of those necessary supplies which a due attention would actually have brought to his finances, they were so much impaired by his neglect, and by the gay course of life which he led, that he gladly accepted the offer of preferment in Ireland; a sure sign that his *practice* was then not very considerable, as he is perhaps the only Civilian that ever went to reside in Ireland after once having experienced the emoluments of a settlement in Doctors Commons.

The exact period of his quitting this kingdom cannot now be ascertained. It has been generally supposed that he went with lord Pembroke, who was appointed lord lieutenant in April 1707. But he was certainly in Ireland much earlier, as we have a correct copy of "Mully of Mountown," in 1704^c, from the Author himself, with a complaint that, *before that time*, some spurious copies had crept into the world. It is probable, therefore, that his preferment was owing to the united interests of the earl of Rochester, his relation,

^c Printed in vol. III. p. 203.—"The Remarks on the Tale of 'a Tub,' (vol. I. p. 209) and 'Orpheus and Eurydice,' (vol. III. p. 207) were first published at the same time.

“ containing the Life of Ovid ;” and a Dedication to Lord Herbert, eldest son to the earl of Pembroke. This is such an imitation, that the Imitator and his Author stand much upon the same terms as Ben does with his Father in the Comedy ^m, “ What thof he be my Father, I am not bound to prentice to him !” The Doctor’s virtuous disposition is no where more remarkably distinguished than in this piece ; wherein both the subject and the example fo naturally lead into some lefs chaste images, some looser love which stands in need of a remedy. But there is no occasion for any remedy to be prescribed for the love here treated of, unless it be the speedy obtaining of what it desires, since it is all prudent, honourable, and virtuous. It is divided into fourteen books, most of them ending with some remarkable fable and interesting novel.

In 1709, he also published his most ingenious Poem, “ The Art of Cookery, in imitation of Horace’s Art of Poetry ; with some Letters to Dr. Lister and others, occasioned principally by the Title of a Book published by the Doctor, being the Works of Apicius Cælius ⁿ, concerning the Soups and Sauces of the Ancients. With an Extract of the greatest Curiosities contained in that Book ^o.” Among the Letters is one, upon the *dentiscalps*, or toothpicks, of the Ancients ^p. Another contains a fine imitation of Horace, Book I. Ep. V. being his Invitation of Torquatus to supper. — And a third contains remarks upon “ The Lawyer’s Fortune, or Love in a Hollow Tree,” a Comedy by Lord Grimston ^h. Neither the Poem nor any of these Letters has a date ; nor has “ The Art of Love.” Whether we should impute this to our Author’s indolence, or to affectation (for he has treated such exactness in his “ Dialogues of the Dead ” with some contempt), is uncertain ; but he carried it to great excess. Even the volume of “ Miscellanies,” which he collected himself, is without a date, either in the general title-page, or in that of any particular tract. The circumstances point out

^m See Congreve’s *Love for Love*.

ⁿ “ De Oponiis sive Condimentis, sive Arte Coquinaria, Libri Decem. *Amstelod.* 1709.”

^o Vol. III. p. 41.

^p P. 47.

^q P. 52.

^r P. 65.

^s Vol. I. p. 149.

the true time of most of them; but that is not the case with "The Furmetary," or with any of the smaller Poems.

On the third of August, 1710, appeared the first number of *The Examiner*, the ablest vindication of the measures of the Queen and her new Ministry. "About a dozen of these papers," Dr. Swift tells us^t, "written with much spirit and sharpness, some by Secretary St. John, since lord Bolingbroke; others by Dr. Atterbury, since bishop of Rochester; and others again by Mr. Prior, Dr. Freind, &c. were published with great applause. But these gentlemen being grown weary of the work, or otherwise employed, the determination was, that I should continue it, which I did accordingly eight months. But, my style being soon discovered, and having contracted a great number of enemies, I let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until her majesty's death." Dr. Swift began with N^o 13, and ended by writing part of N^o 45; when Mrs. Manley took it up, and finished the first volume: it was afterwards resumed by Mr. Oldisworth, who completed four volumes more, and published nineteen numbers of a sixth volume, when the queen's death put an end to the work.

The original institutors of that paper seem to have employed Dr. King as their Publisher, or ostensible Author, before they prevailed on their great Champion to undertake that task. It is not clear which parts of the first *ten* numbers were Dr. King's, though the *sixth* seems much to resemble his manner; but he appears pretty evidently the writer of N^o 11, Oct. 12; and N^o 12, Oct. 19; and this agrees with the account given by the publisher of his Posthumous Works, who says, he undertook that paper about the 10th of October^u.—On the 26th of October, no *Examiner* at all appeared; and the next number, which was published Nov. 2, was written by Dr. Swift.

Our Author's warm zeal for the Church carried him naturally on the side of Sacheverell; and he had a hand, in his dry sarcastic way, in many political essays of that period.

He published, with this view, "A friendly Letter from honest Tom Boggy, to the Rev. Mr. Goddard, Canon of Windsor, occasioned by a Sermon preached at St. George's Chapel, dedicated to her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough, 1710^w;" and "A Second Letter to Mr.

^t Vol. XV. p. 34.

^u Posthumous Works, p. 71.

^w Vol. II. p. 270.

“ Goddard, occasioned by the late Panegyric given him by
 “ the Review, Thursday, July 13, 1710^x.”

These were succeeded by “ A Vindication of the Rev. Dr.
 “ Henry Sacheverell, from the false, scandalous, and ma-
 “ licious Aspersions, cast upon him in a late infamous Pam-
 “ phlet, intituled, “ THE MODERN FANATICK :” In-
 “ tended chiefly to expose the Iniquity of the Faction in
 “ general, without taking any *considerable* Notice of their
 “ poor mad Tool BISSET in particular. In a Dialogue be-
 “ tween a Tory and a Whig^y.” This masterly composi-
 tion had scarcely appeared in the world, before it was fol-
 lowed by “ Mr. Bisset’s Recantation; in a Letter to the Rev.
 “ Dr. Henry Sacheverell^z :” a most singular banter on that
 enthusiastic madman; whom our Author once more thought
 proper to lash, in “ An Answer to a Second scandalous Book
 “ that Mr. Bisset is now writing, to be published as soon as
 “ possible^a.”

Dr. White Kennet’s celebrated Sermon on the death of the
 first duke of Devonshire occasioned, amongst many other
 publications, a *jeu d’esprit* of Dr. King’s, under the title of
 “ An Answer to Clemens Alexandrinus’s Sermon, upon *Quis*
 “ *Dives salvetur?* What Rich Man can be saved?” Proving
 “ it easy for a Camel to get through the Eye of a Needle^b.”

In 1711, Dr. King very diligently employed his pen; and
 published that very useful book for schools, his “ Historical
 “ Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes, necessary for
 “ the understanding of the ancient Poets;” a work still in
 great esteem, and of which there have been several editions,
 the last of them in 1772. This piece he dedicated to Dr.
 Knipe^c, then upper-master of Westminster school, for whom
 he had the greatest veneration.

About the same time he translated “ Political Confide-
 “ rations upon Refined Politics, and the Master-strokes of

^x Vol. II. p. 274.

^y P. 181. Dr. King was undoubtedly assisted in this Treas-
 tise by Dr. Sacheverell; and there is good reason to believe that
 they were also jointly Authors of “ The Principles of Deism,
 “ truly represented and set in a clear Light. In Two Dialogues
 “ between a Sceptick and a Deist, 1708,” 8vo; which was an
 admirable defence both of Natural and Revealed Religion.

^z P. 257.

^a P. 261.

^b Vol. III. p. 37.

^c This characteristic Dedication is inserted, vol. III. p. 291.

“ State, as practised by the Ancients and Moderns, written “ by Gabriel Naude, and inscribed to the Cardinal Bagni.” This translation is dedicated to the Duke of Beaufort^d; and its design was evidently to extol the earl of Oxford as a consummate politician.

At the same period also he employed himself on “ Rufinus, “ or an Historical Essay on the Favourite Ministry under “ Theodosius and his Son Arcadius^e,” with a poem annexed, called “ Rufinus, or the Favourite^f.” These were written early in 1711, but not printed till the end of that year. They were leveled against the Duke of Marlborough and his adherents; and, it must be acknowledged, are written with much asperity.

Towards the close of the year 1711, his fortunes began to re-assume a favourable aspect; and he was recommended by his firm friend Dr. Swift to an office under the government. “ I have settled Dr. King,” says that great Writer^g, “ in the “ Gazette; it will be worth *two hundred pounds* a year to “ him. To-morrow I am to carry him to dine with the Secretary.” And in another letter^h, he tells the archbishop of Dublin, “ I have got poor Dr. King, who was some time “ in Ireland, to be Gazetteer; which will be worth *two hundred and fifty pounds per annum*ⁱ to him, if he be diligent “ and sober, for which I am engaged. I mention this, because I think he was under your grace’s protection in “ Ireland.” From what Swift tells the archbishop, and a hint which he has in another place dropt, it should seem that our Author’s finances were in such a state as to render the salary of Gazetteer no contemptible object to him. “ Par-trick is gone,” says Dr. Swift, “ to the burial of an Irish “ footman, who was Dr. King’s servant; he died of a consumption, a fit death for a poor starving Wit’s footman^k!”

The office, however, was bestowed on Dr. King in a manner the most agreeable to his natural temper; as he had not even the labour of soliciting for it. On the last day of De-

^d This is also preserved, vol. III. p. 293.

^e Vol. II. p. 280.

^f Vol. III. p. 218.

^g Journal to Stella, Dec. 31, 1711.

^h Jan. 8, 1711-12.

ⁱ It was worth *three hundred pounds* a year to his predecessor, Mr. Steele; and was much more considerably augmented in favour of Mr. Ford, who succeeded Dr. King. See p. xxiv.

^k Journal to Stella, Dec. 19, 1711.

ember, 1711, Dr. Swift, Dr. Freind, Mr. Prior, and some other of Mr. Secretary St. John's friends, came to visit him; and brought with them the key of the Gazetteer's-office, and another key for the use of the Paper-office, which had just before been made the receptacle of a curious collection of mummery¹, far different from the other contents of that invaluable repository.

On the first of January, our Author had the honour of dining with the Secretary; and of thanking him for his remembrance of him at a time when he had almost forgotten himself. He entered on his office the same day; but the extraordinary trouble he met with in discharging its duties proved greater than he could long endure. Mr. Barber, who printed the Gazette, obliged him to attend till three or four o'clock, on the mornings when that paper was published, to correct the errors of the press; a confinement which his versatility would never have brooked, if his health would have allowed it, which at this time began greatly to decline. And this, joined to his natural indisposition to the fatigue of any kind of business, furnished a sufficient pretence for resigning his office about Midsummer 1712; as we find, on the first of July, his successor thus pointed out: "I have made Ford gazetteer^m; and got *two hundred pounds* a year settled on the employment by the secretary of state, besides the perquisites. It is the prettiest employment in England of its bigness; yet the puppy does not seem satisfied with it! I think people keep some follies to themselves till they have occasion to produce them. He thinks it not genteel enough, and makes twenty difficulties. It is impossible to make any man easy. His salary is paid him every week, if he pleases, without taxes or abatement. He has little to do for it. He has a pretty office, with coals, candles, paper, &c.; can frank what letters he will; and his perquisites, if he takes care, may be worth *one hundred pounds* moreⁿ."

¹ The figures of the Devil, the Pope, Cardinals, Sacheverell, &c. which were intended to have been carried in procession on Queen Elizabeth's day, but were seized by order of the Secretary of State. See Swift's Journal, Nov. 17 and 19, 1711.

^m Charles Ford, esq; many of whose Letters are printed in Swift's Works.

ⁿ Journal to Stella, July 1, 1712.

Such was the office which our Author thought proper to give up, through indolence, it is to be feared, rather than from any real grievance he felt in its execution. The *late hours* were only a temporary inconvenience, arising from an insolvent *est* having been at that time passed, which for a little while swelled the Gazette enormously with advertisements. But this, the Doctor must have foreseen, could not be of long duration.

On quitting his employ, he retired to the house of a friend, in the garden-grounds between Lambeth and Vauxhall; where he enjoyed himself principally in his library; or, amidst select parties, in a sometimes too liberal indulgence of the bottle^o. He still continued, however, to visit his friends in the metropolis, particularly his relation the earl of Clarendon, who resided in Somerset house.

A little incident, occasioned by the surrender of Dunkirk into the hands of the British troops under Brigadier Hill, July 7, 1712, is said to have pleased the Doctor highly; who was at that time a perfect valetudinarian, and naturally out of the common road in his taste for pleasure. Hearing that his Grace of Canterbury (Dr. Tenison) was not pleased with the general rejoicings occasioned by that important event, and that he had ordered his gates to be shut; Dr. King, determined to diffuse hilarity around him, invited the watermen and his poor neighbours of Lambeth in general to partake of some barrels of ale, at a house near his little cot; where the good-natured Doctor dispensed his favours with an equal hand in honour of his Queen and Country; and the numerous company assembled on this occasion returned to their respective homes, neither mad, drunk, nor disappointed.

We have two publications of Dr. King, in the course of this year, besides his "Rufinus" already mentioned. One was, "Britain's Palladium; or Lord Bolingbroke's Welcome from France^p." This was published Sept. 13, 1712.

The other piece was intituled, "Useful Miscellanies, Part I. 1712^q." He seems to have intended a continuation,

^o Mr. Pope, in that remarkable letter to lord Burlington which describes his journey with Lintot, puts this singular character of Dr. King into the mouth of the bookseller: "I remember Dr. King could write verses in a tavern, three hours after he could not speak."

^p Vol. III. p. 230.

^q P. 1.

if his life had been prolonged. But this was the last production he lived to publish.

As autumn advanced, the Doctor drooped insensibly, and then neither cared to see, or to be seen by, any one: and, winter drawing on, he shut himself up entirely from his nearest friends; and would not so much as see his noble relation, till his lordship, hearing of his weak condition, sent his sister to fetch him in a chair to a lodging he had provided for him opposite Somerset-house in the Strand, where, next day, about noon, being Christmas-day, 1712, he yielded up his breath, with the patience and resignation of a Philosopher, and with the true devotion of a Christian Hero: but would not be persuaded to go to rest the night before, or even to lie down, till he had made such a will as he thought was agreeable to the inclinations of Lord Clarendon. After his death, this noble Lord took care of his funeral; and had him decently interred in the North Cloysters of Westminster-abbey^r, where he lies next to his master Dr. Knipe, to whom, as we have already mentioned, he had a little before dedicated his “Historical Account of the Heathen Gods.”

In 1732, his “Remains,” with an Account of his Life and Writings, were published, with a Dedication to John Earl of Orrery^s. These are incorporated, in the present edition, in such places as were most suitable to the connexion of the respective pieces. They were re-published in 1734, under the new title of “Posthumous Works,” and with the addition of the Editor’s name, “Joseph Browne, M. D.” who purchased the original manuscripts from Dr. King’s sister; and again, with a title to the same purport, in 1739^t.

The most striking parts of our Author’s character are these: In his morals, he was religious and strictly virtuous. He was a man of eminent learning and singular piety, strictly conscientious in all his dealings, and zealous for the cause rather than the appearance of religion. His chief pleasure consisted in trifles; and he was never happier than when he thought he was hid from the world: yet he loved company, provided they were such as tallied with his humour (for

^r See Dart’s Westminster, vol. II. p. 139. There is no monument, or grave-stone, to his memory.

^s Preserved at the end of these Memoirs, p. xxxi.

^t It should be acknowledged, that this manufacturing of Title-pages reflects no great credit on Dr. Browne; though the censure will probably fall on his bookseller, Edmund Carl.

few people pleased him in conversation). His discourse was chearful, and his wit pleasant and entertaining. His philosophy and good sense prevailed over his natural temper, which was fullen, morose, and pcevish; but he was of a timorous disposition, and the least slight or neglect would throw him into a melancholy state of despondency. He would say a great many ill-natured things, but never do one. He was made up of tendernefs and pity, and tears would fall from him on the smallest occasion.

He has described himself in the following verses, found in his pocket-book at his death, being then fresh written with a lead pencil:

- “ I sing the various chances of the world,
- “ Through which men are by fate or fortune hurl'd;
- “ 'Tis by no scheme or method that I go,
- “ But paint in verse my notions as they flow:
- “ With heat the wanton images pursue;
- “ Fond of the old, yet still creating new.
- “ Fancy myself in some secure retreat;
- “ Resolve to be content, and so be great!”

It appears from his loose papers, termed by him “ Adversaria,” that, before he was eight years standing in the University^u, he had read over, and made reflections on, twenty-two thousand and odd hundred books and manuscripts; a specimen of which we have given the Reader in this volume, which will let him into the humour and taste of our Author in relation to all kinds of literature, both classical, polite, and serious, better than the most formal description of them. It should at the same time be acknowledged, that this method of making remarks upon the authors he read is by no means peculiar to the Doctor; it is the general way of every student. But nothing discovers the taste and temper of his genius more than the turn and nature of his “ Adversaria.” These shew how freely he ranged in the fields of polite learning, and what set of flowers most pleased his fancy. It is very evident that nothing of the humourous kind escaped his notice.

^u In our third volume, p. 283, Dr. King says, “ he bears the relation of a Son to the TWO most flourishing Universities in the world, though peculiarly obliged to ONE of them *for his education.*” As it no where appears that he had any connexion with Cambridge; he perhaps alludes to the university of Dublin, to which, in his *official* capacity, he might in some measure be related.

As his education had been very strict, so he was naturally of a religious disposition; and would never enter upon any business of the day till he had performed his duties, and read several portions of Scripture, out of the Psalms, the Prophets, and the New Testament; on which he would often make his remarks, taking a fresh piece of paper every morning in his hand, on which he always began $\Sigma\upsilon\iota\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, "By God's permission." And this paper he kept at hand all day, to write down whatever occurred to his mind, or pleased his fancy; these he called *hints*, which he could refer to at pleasure. Accordingly we find several of these upon the subject of religion and the church, as well as on virtue and morality.

The "Adversaria" also furnish us with an ample proof of his regard for the reputation of his country. We find him anxious in recommending such "criticisms and remarks in poetry, &c. as might tend to the honour of the British name and literature". To encourage a collection of this kind, he recommends a prodigious number of observations on books, manuscripts, and what else he had met with to promote such a work. Most of these observations are exceedingly curious; and the great number of the smaller poetical pieces referred to and mentioned in them are a conspicuous proof of his judgement as well as diligence. Among other rare pieces, he mentions the "Polemio Middinia," a macaronic poem by Drummond of Hawthornden, which, afterwards was published by Dr. Gibson, bishop of London^x. He takes notice also of the Bishop of Lichfield's technical verses for chronology, as a stupendous work, comprehending that learning through many ages so short, that nothing can be a greater instance, "memoriam in artem posse redigi". In the same view, having afterwards mentioned the technical verses usually found in the little manuals of Logick, he says, "it were to be wished that the memorial verses in all sciences were to be collected together^z;" and his judgement in this particular has been confirmed, and the design here hinted actually put in execution, by the learned Dr. Richard Grey, in his "Memoria Technica."

Our Poet is particularly inquisitive after any of the pieces of Hudibras. "If that author," says he, "has left any Latin behind him, it would be the best in that kind; his thoughts

^w Vol. I. p. 235.

^x P. 236.

^y P. 239.

^z P. 241.

"are

“ are so just, his images so lively, such a deep insight into the
 “ nature of mankind and the humour of those times, that no
 “ true history could be written without studying that Au-
 “ thor ^a.”—“ It is pity,” continues he, “ that the finest of
 “ our English Poets, especially the divine Shakespear, had
 “ not communicated their beauties to the world so as to be
 “ understood in Latin, whereby foreigners have sustained so
 “ great a loss to this day; when all of them were inexcuseable
 “ but the most inimitable Shakespear. I am so far from
 “ being envious, and desirous to keep those treasures to our-
 “ selves, that I could wish all our most excellent Poets trans-
 “ lated into Latin, that are not so already.” This hint of
 the Doctor’s was not lost. Among other things, we have
 since seen not only a Latin translation of Prior’s “ Solomon;”
 but even of Milton’s “ Paradise Lost,” excellently performed
 in verse by Mr. Dobson, Fellow of New College, Oxford:
 not to mention the admirable versions of some lighter essays
 by those truly classical ornaments of Westminster-school,
 Vincent Bourne and Robert Lloyd.

To conclude this account of our Author. He was a civi-
 lian, exquisitely well read; a skilful judge; among the
 learned, an universal scholar and able critick; expert in all
 languages and sciences; in poetry, an English Ovid. In con-
 versation, he was entertaining, without levity or spleen. As
 an Author, his character has been thus concisely summed
 up:

“ Read here, in softest sounds the keenest satire;
 “ A pen dipt deep in gall, a heart good-nature;
 “ An English Ovid from his birth he seems,
 “ Inspired alike with strong poetic dreams:
 “ The Roman raunts of heroes, gods, and Jove;
 “ The Briton purely paints the Art of Love.”

^a Vol. I. p. 241.

A Copy of Dr. KING's Will, made the Night before
he died.

“ IN the name of God, Amen. I William King, of
“ Christ-Church, Oxon, Doctor of Laws, being of per-
“ fect mind and memory, and hoping to be saved by the
“ merits of Jesus Christ, do make this my last Will and
“ Testament.

“ I constitute and appoint my loving sifter Elizabeth
“ King my sole executrix and residuary legatee of all my
“ estate or estates, real or personal, in possession or reversion :
“ to which I set my hand and seal, this twenty-fourth day
“ of December, in the year of our Lord 1712, and in the
“ presence of the witnesses hereunto subscribed; who were
“ requested to be witnesses to the same, and who subscribed
“ their names in the presence of each other, being requested
“ so to do by the Testator; who read the same twice, and
“ audibly, before he subscribed the same.

“ WILLIAM KING. (L. S.)

“ Signed, sealed, and delivered, in the presence of
“ us the subscribing Witnesses; who were re-
“ quested by the Testator to do it, in the presence
“ of each other; and did so accordingly.

“ M. B. Son of J. B.

“ R. B. Servant to Lord Cornbury.

“ J. B. of London.”

DEDICATION, prefixed to Dr. KING's "REMAINS."

To the Right Hon. JOHN Earl of ORRERY.

MY LORD,

THE high and most exalted reputation your noble name and family bear in the learned world, is a very justifiable pretence for the Editor of these Remains to lay them at your Lordship's feet: but there is still a more prevailing one, which gives your Lordship a just claim to them; and that is, the intimacy between the Doctor and your Noble Father, then a young Nobleman at Christ Church in Oxon, where he made so considerable a figure in the *belles lettres*.

The controversy with Dr. Bentley about Phalaris's Epistles, taken notice of in our Author's Remains, and in his Letters to the then Honourable Charles Boyle, evidently testify his worth and learning; which made the Author of the Poem called "The Dispensary" say,

"—And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle."

I am too much a stranger to your Lordship, though not so to your character, to aim at what the world calls flattery. And as I have little inclination for writing of panegyrick, so I have less ability to attempt it: your Lordship's goodness cannot give me vanity enough to think I can please a man of quality of your refined sense and reason with bombast eulogiums and rhetorical flourishes. I doubt not but your Lordship has heard of the man and his manners; and that your Lordship will be pleased with these Remains, and have at least that charity for the dead, according to the Proverb, "De Mortuis nil nisi bonum." I had not undertaken to publish this Account of the Life of the Author and his Writings, but to rescue the work out of worse hands, purely in regard to the memory of Dr. King, for whom I had the greatest esteem: and I am verily persuaded your Lordship will think these Remains worthy your perusal, and be acceptable to men that have any taste for learning, religion, or virtue.

The Works of our Author, hitherto printed, have been well received by the Public; and he hath been allowed, by some of the best judges at that time of day, in his "Account of Denmark," to have shewn great reading, perspicuity, and judgement; great wit and humour in his "Art of Cookery;" and a true Spirit of English Poetry, with the greatest natural modesty, in his "Art of Love," which was written at the persuasion of a very great Statesman, in imitation of Ovid de Arte Amandi, and may be read to the chastest ear; for I believe our Author was never heard to speak an immodest word, or known to write a lewd one.

I must own, as I had a great value for Dr. King, so I retain the same esteem for his memory; and the only favour I shall beg of your Lordship is, that your Lordship will forgive the Editor for the sake of the Author.

I am, with the utmost deference and submission,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

1732.

THE EDITOR.

REFLEC.

REFLECTIONS

UPON

Mr. VARILLAS'S History of Heresy,

BOOK I. TOME I.

As far as relates to ENGLISH MATTERS ;

More especially those of WICKLIFF^a.

— *Cùm primùm animum ad scribendum appulit,
Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,
Populo ut placerent, quas fecisset fabulas.*

TERENT. *Andria*, Prologus.

^a These Reflections contain some memoirs of that great man, who was as it were the morning-star of the Reformation. It were to be wished, that, from the many volumes of his Works still remaining, a History of Religion of that time were composed, which would give great light into the affairs of England.

Dr. King's Preface to his Volume of Miscellanies
in Prose and Verse.

* * Antoine Varillas was born at Gucret in 1624, and died June 9, 1696. He was the author of many works, chiefly of the historical kind. That which occasioned these "Reflections" of Dr. King was published at Paris in 1686, and after re-printed. Describing the revolutions in matters of religion which have happened in Europe, he utterly ruined his reputation abroad, as it exposed him to the criticisms of able men in each country; for instance, Dr. Burnet and Dr. King in England, Brunsman in Denmark, Pufendorf and Seckendorf in Germany; who copiously detected and exposed his falsehoods and misrepresentations concerning the state of religion in their respective countries, and made a wonderful revolution in the opinions of those who had been used to believe Varillas upon his own bare word. The criticisms of Bayle, occasionally made on this author, in various parts of his Dictionary, sufficiently prove him to have been not only inaccurate, but unworthy of all credit. His own countrymen have acknowledged, with regard to his "History of France" and "Florentine Anecdotes," that his frequent professions of sincerity prejudiced many in his favour, and made him pass for a writer who had penetrated into the inmost recesses of the cabinet; but that the publick were at length undeceived, and were convinced that the historical anecdotes, which Varillas put off for authentic facts, had no foundation, being wholly his own inventing; though he endeavoured to make them pass for realities, by affected citations of titles, instructions, letters, memoirs, and relations, all of them imaginary. See some further particulars of his life and writings in the Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. art. VARILLAS.

DR. KING'S ADVERTISEMENT.

IT having been publicly desired, that those, in whose way it should lye to expose Mr. Varillas, would put themselves to the trouble; the Author of these Papers was willing to contribute his share, in the part concerning Wickliff^a, having formerly

^a This illustrious Reformer was born in the North of England about 1324, and educated at Oxford. About 1365, he was chosen by the seculars head of a college, founded at Oxford for the scholars of Canterbury; but the monks, who had been newly admitted into that college, had a mind to prefer a regular to the headship; and after a long contest, Wickliff and his followers were compelled, by Pope Urban V, to quit the college. He retired to his living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, which he had some time possessed; and, his disgrace having prejudiced him against the court of Rome, he sought revenge, by opposing the authority of the pope, the temporalities of the church, and the jurisdiction of the bishops. The doctrine he taught being favourable to the king, to the barons, and the people, he found many assistants and protectors. In 1377, he was cited by Archbishop Sudbury to a council at Lambeth; where he appeared, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster and many other lords, and was dismissed without any condemnation. By order of Pope Gregory XI, he was cited to a second council at Lambeth; where he appeared, and again avoided condemnation. His doctrines continuing rapidly to spread, Archbishop Courtney, in 1382, called a council, in which he condemned twenty-four propositions of Wickliff or his disciples; ten as heretical, and fourteen as erroneous. The council obtained also a declaration of King Richard II, against all who should preach the new doctrines; and many were severely punished. Whilst these matters were agitating with great confusion and warmth, Wickliff died at Lutterworth in 1384. He wrote many works, both in Latin and English, few of which have been printed. The principal treatise which has appeared is called *Triologus*, a dialogue between *Aletheia*, *Pseudis*, and *Pbrevese*. He suffered

formerly laid together some observations conducing to such a design. Mr. L'Arroque indeed has gone before him in the attempt; but that ingenious gentleman was not well advised to meddle in a strange country, till time had instructed him more fully in the constitutions and language of it. Our present reflecter has made use of the Amsterdam edition, not being able to procure that of Paris. He has given Mr. Varillas all the law imaginable; he has made no advantage of mistakes, which with any Reason could be charged upon the printer; he has contradicted nothing without express proof on his side; and in things highly improbable, which seem to have no foundation in history, unless he can confront them with positive and authentic testimonies, he lets the Author alone, and suffers the boldness of the assertion to be its own security. Last of all, he intreats the Reader's pardon, if the language and expression are without choice and ornament; his professed business and necessary occasions not allowing him any such leisure.

A. D. 1688.

many anathemas after his death; popes and various councils condemned him repeatedly; and that of Constance, in 1414, before they proceeded against the persons of Hufs and Jerom, condemned the doctrines of Wickliff, and ordered his bones to be dug up, if they could be discovered, and thrown out of holy ground.

R E F L E C T I O N S

U P O N

MONSIEUR VARILLAS.

TH E enemies of the Reformation, as they seem resolved never to leave off writing controversy, and being confuted by our divines; so they are not wanting upon occasion to turn their style, and furnish out matter of triumph to our Historians. Sanders and Caussin heretofore, and of late Monsieur Maimburg and Monsieur Varillas, have thought themselves qualified for this kind of employment. Above the rest, Mr. Varillas has used his pen with such a partial extravagance, and with so little regard to modesty and truth, that he has not only provoked the Learned of the Reformed profession to chastise his impudence in their public writings, but has also drawn upon him the scorn and indignation of several gentlemen of his own communion; who, in a sense of honour and common ingenuity, have taken some pains to lay open the smooth impostor. Mr. Hozier, Genealogist to the King of France, in his Epistle, declares himself to have discovered in him above four thousand errors. Pere Bouhours, in a discourse of his, makes it his business to expose him: even his old friend Mr. Dryden seems to have forsaken him, and gone over to his adversary Bouhours; from whose original he is now translating the Life of St. Xavier. To be free, there is almost as many faults in every single page of Mr. Varillas, as in a printer's table of errata: and if the archbishop of Paris would do his duty, he would find himself bound to put a holy censure upon his pensioner; and as he was lately very forward to compel those of the Religion to a recantation of their faith, so he ought here to oblige Mr. Varillas to an abjuration of his History which we now come to consider.

I. "It was then in the year 1374, that Heresy began in England, by occasion of the bishoprick of Winchester. John Wickliff, parson of *Entblerod*, in the diocese of Lincoln, pretended to the said bishoprick, and thought he had so well taken his measures, that it could not otherwise escape him, than by such an extraordinary accident as human prudence could not foresee," pag. 11.] It might be rational to expect that a French Historian would have taken a particular care to inform himself about the chronology of Edward the Third's reign; a prince, whose actions France above all countries has reason to remember: but Monsieur Varillas takes leave to be altogether ignorant of it, not doubting perhaps but he should meet with gentlemen and readers that would not be so uncivil as to contradict the first word of an Author. But a plain Englishman, that has been taught to ask for truth in history, and not to believe a thing only because another has affirmed it, whatever may be the consequence, and though he is sure to be called "the rashest of all men," will however dare to tell him, that it was not "the year 1374, that Heresy began in England, &c." For first, John Wickliff had published his opinions, and gained a fame by the year 1360^b. Secondly, he was never "parson of *Entblerod*;" nor is there any such parish in "the diocese of Lincoln," or in the king of England's dominions. If he means Lutterworth, he has so disfigured it, that even a Leicestershire-man could not know it again. Thirdly, what designs could the parson of Lutterworth have upon a bishoprick that was full, and had been so for several years before? For, if William of Wickham was in disgrace, must his bishoprick be therefore void? or would Wickliff grow discontented for a preferment not vacant, and raise a heresy because the bishop would not die for him? After this, unless it appear that Wickliff, amongst his other measures, had intended to dispatch my Lord of Winchester, it is plain, he had not laid his designs so deep as Mr. Varillas would persuade us. Fourthly, an Author of equal credit with Mr. Varillas, Harpsfield, has imputed Wickliff's ill humours to the loss of the bishoprick of Worcester: from whose Latin, Florimond de Raymond has falsely translated it the bishop of Wiorn; and Varillas, more falsely, Winton.

II. He goes on (in page 12.) to give a character of the heretick: "That he understood the theology of the schools, which he

^b Dr. James, in Wickliff's Life, after the Apology.

“taught publicly in the University of Oxford, in quality of
 “*Regius Professor*: That that place had commonly been a step to
 “a bishoprick: That at present Wickliff found his ambition
 “opposed by the Pope’s officers, either because they had enter-
 “tained a suspicion of him, or favour for another.”] 1. It must
 be confessed, that Wickliff might deserve the title Mr. Varillas
 has bestowed upon him; but it is something strange, that he
 should stand possessed of a dignity which was not founded till
 about 150 years after, by the magnificence of Henry the Eighth;
 before whose time there was no *Regius Professor* ever heard of in
 Oxford. In the paragraph before, Mr. Varillas made Wickliff
 so vain as to desire an impossibility; and in this he has put him
 in real possession of one. 2. The Pope’s officers, and what fol-
 lows, Mr. Varillas will lay no great stress upon, as being only a
 flourish inserted by a figure of the modern rhetorick, which the
 wits have called *banter*.

III. We are told, that “Wickliff, thus disappointed, resolves
 “to revenge himself upon the Holy See. In expectation of a fit
 “opportunity, he sets himself to read the schismatical books of
 “such as had defended the emperors and anti-popes, against the
 “popes. His first advance was, the maintaining, That the Eng-
 “lish were not bound in conscience to the payment of Peter-
 “pence, given by King John to Pope Innocent the Third,” p. 13.]
 1. It may be observed, that Wickliff was a man of very ill tem-
 per, to ground all his dislike and aversion to the church of Rome
 upon an affront, which we have proved it impossible for him ever
 to have received. 2. It shall be owned, that he was ever a pro-
 fessed admirer of Grosthead the famous bishop of Lincoln, of
 Occam, and Bradwardin, that had lately flourished in Merton
 College, where he himself had part of his education: to accuse
 him of having read these and such-like writers, had indeed
 been a proper objection in the mouth of an Italian. But I admire
 that an Author, who had a pension from the same master with
 the Marquis de Lavardin, should so far forget himself, as to call
 those Doctors schismatical, who stood up for the civil rights of
 princes, against the encroachments of his Holiness. The whole
 collection of Goldastus may be read in France; and an English
 Historian, whom Varillas has reason to know, is said to have been
 rewarded for writing in the behalf of that cause, the defenders of
 which Wickliff must not be allowed to peruse without a crime

3. I find Mr. Varillas is much enamoured on the history of the Peter-pence. This is the great epoche, from whence he has decreed the Historians of the English Reformation ought to have started. At present he is much incensed against Wickliff, for advising the people not to pay them, and asserting that they might with a safe conscience obey their prince, who, in the year 1364, had prohibited their payment, and left Wickliff nothing to do in 1374, but to magnify the action. 4. We entreat, with Dr. B. ^c that if ever Mr. Varillas shall have any farther use of the Peter-pence, he would ascribe their original to king Ina, since they were not first given away by king John, nor received first by the pope, whose name, as Mr. Pulton thinks, is so hard to be remembered.

IV. He says that "in 1374, the duke of Lancaster, upon having heard Wickliff preach, became his convert, hoping by his doctrine to support his own interest. He was then the eldest of King Edward the Third's sons; but had not been so always. The prince of Wales was born afore him; but he was dead; having left but one son, so young, that the duke supposed it not impossible to exclude him from the crown. He founded his ambition upon this, that the right of representation was not clearly enough made out in the laws which William the Conqueror had given to England: so he hoped to get over the house of commons, by encouraging a party against the clergy, whom they had always hated," p. 14, 15, 16.] First of all, the duke of Lancaster was not eldest son to Edward III, in the year 1374; for the prince of Wales died not till July 1376. I could have easily excused Mr. Varillas, if the falseness of his date had lain only in days or months. But it seems he was resolved to kill the Black Prince two years before his time; and it had been for the interest of France if he could have dispatched him sooner.

2. Mr. Varillas has given us a truth, that the duke of Lancaster had not always been the eldest son: which is well observed of him; for he had three elder brothers, two of which Mr. Varillas has omitted; one of whom left a daughter, that the duke ought to have excluded, as well as his nephew Richard; and it is not to be doubted but there had also been a plot against Philippa, heiress to the duke of Clarence, had Mr. Varillas ever heard there

^c Three treatises against M. Varillas (all printed at Amsterdam) are enumerated in Dr. Flexman's accurate account of the writings of Bp. Burnet, annexed to the "History of his own Times," 8vo. vol. iv. p. 479.

had been such a person. 3. The gentlemen of the long robe would desire to know what those laws are, made by king William, in relation to the succession; and if Mr. Varillas has any manuscript of them among his anecdotes, he is entreated to send it over, and in requital he shall receive from hence two very necessary implements for a trader in history, a Play and a Chronicle. 4. In England, where we pretend no *Salique*, the crown descends by the law of nature; by which the whole right line takes place of the collateral, and nephews are preferred to their uncles. If any of our kings, contrary to this maxim, have possessed themselves of the throne, it is the respect Englishmen bear to a person that has wore the crown, that keeps them from being severe upon his memory: but no friend to our monarchy will pretend to justify the practice. The tumults raised against king John only, which have made him esteemed the most unfortunate of our princes since the Conquest, are sufficient to testify, that the people ever looked upon him as an usurper, and pitied the distressed Arthur when they could not serve him. 5. If the duke of Lancaster had any design upon the crown, he must have been the most impolitic man in the world, to hope for any furtherance of his project by declaring himself for Wickliff. The whole course of our history shews us, that in such cases the contrary methods have been always taken, and the clergy have been ever most powerful in altering the succession. William Rufus had the friendship of Lanfranc. Stephen was assisted by his brother Henry bishop of Winchester, and legate to the pope. King John found a Hubert to set the crown upon his head. Even the event demonstrates, that the clergy were the persons by whom the unfortunate Richard must be dethroned; and the archbishop of Canterbury must carry a strong influence in his ruin.

IV. After the doubt concerning "the right of representation," Mr. Varillas makes a short digression, to cross the sea into Bretagne, whence he brings us a parallel case, where the English took part with the uncle in prejudice of the niece; "The eldest son of the duke of Bretagne died before his father, leaving but one daughter, who was afterwards married to Charles de Bloys. The youngest son, the earl of Montfort, pretended to be heir to the dutchy," p. 15.] 1. In this passage, Mr. Varillas has put the eldest son instead of the second son, and has made the daughter succeed her grandfather, when he ought to have said her uncle: for

for there is no herald will deny but this is the case in relation to genealogy. Arthur duke of Bretagne, by a first venter, had two sons, John and Guy, and by a second marriage, one more, John of Montfort: thus he died, the elder John succeeding; after a time, his brother Guy deceasing, and himself childless, settles the succession upon Jane, Guy's daughter: against this Jane it was, after John's death, that John earl of Montfort put in his pretensions. 2. It is very unreasonable, we see, to expect a good account of foreign matters from Mr. Varillas, when we find him so unpardonably mistaken in his own; and it would be but a vain thing to imagine that, writing of the Reformation in England, he should have read Dr. Burnet; when, quoting a remark out of the French History, he could not afford to consult Mezeray.

V. One acquainted with the conduct of Mr. Varillas would be apt to wonder, that in five pages together there has no lady appeared, nor any thing of an amour. But he can forbear no longer; for, p. 16, "the king's mistress," is brought into the party: "She was a Spaniard; by name *Alex Perez*; who joined herself to the interest of John of Gaunt, in hopes to be secured by him from a parliament, after the decease of the old king; who, by the discourses of her and the duke, had begun to think well of Wickliff, and would have declared himself in favour of him, but for fear of the popes," p. 16, 17.]

1. Having read that Wickliff was a person of great accomplishments, improved by travel and a large conversation, I began to be afraid that Mr. Varillas, who has an ambition to improve all things into a love-intrigue, would have made the king's mistress have a design of kindness upon him. But, finding he had failed me there, I began to bethink me who that Alex Perez might be, and whether it was true that king Edward had fetched a mistress out of the same country that duke John had brought his wife from. But who would suspect that this court-beauty, whom Varillas has dressed up à l'*Espagnole*, should prove to be nobody else, but our own Alice Pierce, English-born, and English-bred?

2. Our best Historians have left us no remembrance of any concern she ever had with church-affairs; only it is said, indeed, that her first step to the royal favour was owing to a Dominican; and that, thus preferred, she did once employ her interest with the bishop of Winchester; who had no reason to be thought one of Wickliff's

Wickliff's friends, if it were true that he, as Mr. Varillas has before related, had entertained a contrivance to thrust him out of his see.

3. This is certain, king Edward the Third had a great esteem for Wickliff, so as some have affirmed he made him his own chaplain: and to see how the man is mistaken, in saying, the king dissembled the favour he had for him, lest the pope should be displeas'd by it, it will be fit to tell him, that the first occasion of Wickliff's rising in the king's good opinion was, because he manfully oppos'd the papal pretences; and that, if ever any of our princes, till king Henry the Eighth, have asserted themselves from a dread of the popes, it must be readily allowed, that this king was not much over-awed by them, in the beginning of whose reign^d the religious were forbid to send money to their superiors beyond sea; in the middle of whose reign were enacted the famous Statutes of *Provisors*^e and *Præmunires*^f, and both confirm'd again by a parliament of his about ten years after.

VI. We are next amus'd with the reasons king Edward had to be displeas'd with the papacy: "It was by the Pope's ill offices (caused by a jealousy they had of the king) that he saw his pretensions to the empire defeated; and among other things, Guienne was lost to the French, by his not being able to obtain leave from Rome for the taking the new tenths of his clergy," p. 17, 18, 19.] This whole paragraph wants but a translation for its confutation; and Mr. Dryden might have been as effectual as Dr. Burnet. We shall dismiss it at present with only one *Remark*, that as never any of our kings deserved better of the native clergy of England than king Edward, so he had no need to ask the pope's leave for them to be grateful to him: that very year that he apprehended the designs of Charles upon Guienne, he borrowed of them great sums; and the next, he had given him by them no less than fifty thousand pounds, to be paid in the same year. And here again he betrays his ignorance of the English policy and constitutions: for the clergy, met in convocation, have always had the privilege of taxing themselves, without sending for a foreign consent; which our Author would make us believe was sollicit'd by king Edward in a "formal embassy to the Pope;" but what was that ambassador's name we must not

^d 5 Ed. II.

^e 25 Ed. III.

^f 27 Ed. III.

know; for perhaps Mr. Varillas has wisely put himself under his old obligation of secrecy. The credentials of that embassy will be no where found, unless it be in the company of Cardinal Bellay's invisible letters, or the original *Salique* law. Which simile I take occasion to mention here the second time, because I would have Mr. Varillas to understand, that I am as fond of my notion of the *Salique*, as he is of his Peter-pence.

VII. We are at length arrived to what he calls "the depth of the intrigue," and is really beyond my fathom. He begins, "That before William the Conqueror there were no written laws in England; William made a collection, still remaining, of such of the unwritten laws as he designed should be abolished: the laws he left in force, if strictly observed, would have subjected England to the conditions of a conquered country; and the goods of his ecclesiasticks (which by his laws he had made his own, p. 2.) would have preserved his ministers in a dependence upon him," p. 19, 20.]

1. Our Author, who has dived so deeply into the cabinets of princes, and discovered so many manuscript memoirs inaccessible to other mortals, is a little unhappy here, in not having heard of our *Saxon-lege*, or *Mercen-lege*, or *Dane-lege*, of the laws of king Ina, he that gave the never-to-be-forgotten Peter-pence, or king Alfred, or king Edward the Confessor, and other our princes before the Conquest, with which Mr. Lambard has made a shift to fill a Folio.

2. That collection he talks of made by William the Conqueror, and still remaining, would bear a great price in England, if he is willing to part with it; for we could never yet get the sight of such a record. We have indeed a work of that reign, a noble piece of English antiquity, the *Domesday-Book*‡; but the subject of that does not answer our Author's character.

3. That William the First affected the name and advantage of a Conqueror, and designed to use the English not as subjects

‡ Supposed to be the oldest public record existing in the world. The most satisfactory account of it hitherto given is prefixed to "Hutchins's History and Antiquities of Dorset," in a Dissertation for which the publick is indebted to the able author of "Anecdotes of British Topography." This valuable record is at length, by the munificence of parliament, committed to the press.

but as slaves, will never be granted by the most impartial of our Historians.

4. Least of all will it be allowed, that that prince did ever pretend by the right of conquest to the revenues of Holy Church; the confirming of which, in all its privileges, was the first solemn act of his entrance; and the increasing of it with the foundation of a goodly abbey^h, was what he chose to be the pious and lasting memorial of his victory.

VIII. What follows is so gross and unpardonable, that I shall refer him to be corrected by the Almanack, or the man that shews the kings at Westminster. If the Compositor does not step in to relieve the credit of the Author, and bring him out of this inconvenience, as he calls it, by taking shame to himself, no man hereafter will endure his books, but in such a library as Don Quixote's, or in such a catalogue as Mr. Langbaine's. He gravely tells us, "That the two Stephens of the house of Blois, who succeeded the sons of William, took no care of the unwritten laws, &c." Sure he penned this passage at a certain season, when, they say, men are used to see double; otherwise, how is it possible for him to make us two kings of one? Who ever heard of king Stephen the Second of England? who was his wife? what children had he? what did he do? which king of France did he beat? where was he buried? It is a miracle that all this should escape the world; and whilst we, the ignorant, thought there never had been any more than one Stephen, Mr. Varillas should produce another. However, it will be hard for him to prevail with the wary citizens of London, amongst the statues royal erected in the Exchange, to raise an effigies to the memory of the second king Stephen.

IX. "To the Stephens," he says, "succeeded the House of Anjou; who were reduced to implore the authority of the Holy See, to put them in their possession of England. In them the prerogative was weakened," by some reasons no man but Varillas would give; "and first the clergy and nobility, and after that the populacy, getting the ascendant of the crown, the parliament took its birth. The power of which, during its session, was so great, as to leave almost nothing but the title to the king. Henry II. was the first that would have shook off

^h Built on the spot where he had been victorious, and called Battle-abbey.

“the yoke,” p. 20, 21.] 1. The House of Anjou was so formidable in Maud and her son Henry, and the people so well disposed to receive them, that he had no need of any such assistance from abroad. 2. How could the House of Anjou bring a parliamentary yoke upon themselves, which Henry II. should be the first that endeavoured to shake off, when before Henry II. the House of Anjou never reigned in England. 3. It is a shame Mr. Varillas should know so little of that august assembly, the Parliament, as to date the rise of it from Henry II; whereas at least it ought to have been carried as high as his grandfather^k. 4. He may think perhaps to make it amends by another mistake, having falsely raised them in their session so far above the king, as in a manner to annihilate his power for the time. One that reads this in a Frenchman, would think he was discoursing of the doge of Genoa; and not of a monarch, who, as his present majesty has been pleased publicly to observe, “has enough power by law to make him as great as he can wish^l;” though he suffers his parliament to maintain their just privileges at another rate than the long difused estates of a neighbouring kingdom. And here it is probable our Author may think himself safe behind a quotation fetched from Bologna; and it is likely he will be so: for a subject of England will not presume to interpose, because the matter is of so high a nature; nor a prince condescend so low, as to take notice of an affront, when the Author is Varillas.

X. He goes on to tell us, “That Henry the Second’s designs were prevented by Becket’s murder; which happened by two indiscreet soldiers explaining in too great a latitude some words let fall by the king in relation to the archbishop. So this pro-

^k This assertion will perhaps not readily be granted. *When* the commons were first represented, is a question which has been much agitated by many able writers; some of whom have thrown great light upon a subject, which, as Dr. *Swift* has well observed (vol. xxiii. p. 438.), is perplexed by the word PARLIAMENT being used promiscuously by our ancient writers, for a general assembly of nobles, and for a council of bishops, or synod of the clergy. It is certain, however, that, under whatever denomination they may have passed, there were assemblies of the people under the Saxon government, which probably were almost coeval with the first civilization of this island.

^l It does not appear when James II. made this declaration.

“jeft was fet on foot no more till Edward the Third’s time, who, “taking up the fame design of deprefling the ftates of parliament, “began with that of the clergy, which by Wickliff’s proceedings “he was in hopes to mortify,” p. 22.] 1. Thofe *two fouldiers* of his were four knights, Sir Hugh Merville, Sir William Tracy, Sir Richard Brittain, and Sir Raynold Fitz-Urs. An Hiftorian ought to underftand fo much blazon, as to know a knight from a fouldier; and not to fuffer himfelf to be fo much in hafte, as to leave half his number behind him: but Mr. Varillas may think he has done the gentlemen no wrong, in giving them a name fo much admired in modern France; and I am the more willing to excufe him for being too fhort in this account^m, becaufe he allows for it in the two Stephens. 2. He told us in p. 18, 19, “That “the reafon of king Edward’s designs upon the clergy, was a “defire he had of revenging himfelf upon the popes, who had “done him, as he thought, fo many injuries there recounted.” But here that refolution is made to proceed from an intent of his, to bring down the power of parliaments. Now I begin to have fome hopes of our Author; for I fee he knows himfelf fo well, as not to rely upon his own relation laid down before; and Mr. Varillas will not believe Mr. Varillas. He guefles again; and thinks it is here as in arithmetick, where two falfe fuppoftions may produce a truth.

XI. After this long deduction, in which it feems as though he had been refolved to fpend at once all the little ftock of knowledge he has in the English Chronicles, he returns to Wickliff; “who, finding himfelf thus fecure, taught openly, that the English lords might refume the goods given by their anceftors to “the church; that neither pope nor bifhops might excommunicate; that facraments adminiftered by wicked priefts were ineffectual,” p. 23.] Mr. Varillas having framed to himfelf a notion, that Wickliff was only ufed as a ftate-inftument againft the clergy, he has accordingly picked only thefe out of his many doctines, as appearing moft proper to ferve his hypothefis; as if thefe three misrepresented articles were the only or the chief tenets by which Dr. Wickliff grew to be fo confiderable. It was

^m This period of English Hiftory has been difcuffed in a very mafterly manner by the late lord Lyttelton.

his great esteem for the Holy Scriptures, of which his translation still remains a memorable instance; his right notion of the blessed Eucharist; the opposition he made to the encroaching mendicants in behalf of the secular clergy; not to mention his confessed excellences in polemic divinity and philosophy; with a strictness of life, which his acquaintance revered; which his adversaries, amongst all their accusations, have never pretended to call in question; and which engaged in his favour the major part of the University where he lived, and particularly the chancellor and both the proctors of the year 1382. It would be too large a work, and not becoming such a pamphlet as this, to enter into a defence of that great man and all his particular opinions, and to shew how industrious the Friars have been to blacken him since his death; when even in his life-time he was charged with the fancies and errors of other men, which, when in open court, he declared never to have been his. This his remonstrance has by some since been pleasantly termed a recantation. For the present, the diligent Dr. James may be consulted by the curious, for their farther satisfaction, till some generous pen shall appear more fully in the cause of Wickliff, and do justice to so eminent a confessor.

XII. He keeps us still in the year 1374. "And in that it was," as he tells us, "that pope Gregory XI, hearing of the novelty, wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, by any means to suppress it. They cite Wickliff; who appears; but in the posture of one that expected a reward, and not a punishment. He pleaded, That he had never designed to alter the Christian truth; that, if any thing offensive had escaped him, he revoked it sincerely, and submitted to penance and public correction. Upon this, they put into his hands a billet of the three errors he had taught; which having explained to their content, there was nothing left for the two bishops, but to absolve him, upon promise made never more to maintain in publick any equivocal propositions," p. 23, 24.]

At the first reading of this narration, drawn up with so much seriousness and formality, it would look like confidence to suspect it; and yet, upon search, it will be manifest that it is false and sophisticate in almost all its parts. Having made this general observation, how cautious our Author has been, in avoiding those
unlucky

unlucky things called dates^a, as not having hitherto specified so much as the month in which any adventure fell out; we must not expect he should tell us what was the date of the pope's bull, of the episcopal citation, or the time of Wickliff's appearance; all which would have been looked for in an exact history; and, if they had here been set down by Mr. Varillas, would have supplied us with matter for a confutation. 1. All our Annals and Registers place this hearing two years later, about the nineteenth of February, 1377. 2. That Wickliff's behaviour there was contrary to what Mr. Varillas has represented it, I will at present take no other care to demonstrate, than by setting down the words of Knighton^b: "Cumque die statuto ad objecta respondere deberet, omnem præjactitatum cordis audaciam sine mora dimisit," &c. 3. I shall ask of Mr. Varillas, whether it be the way of the French law, or any other he has studied, for a man to plead before his indictment be known, and to answer an accusation when it is not yet preferred against him. If Wickliff did so, yet this we know, that he made no such harangue; that, after that, he had no such billet of three articles presented him; that the exposition our Author ascribes to him is fictitious; and, in short, all that follows: for, a tumult happening, the court was obliged to break up abruptly before nine of the clock in the morning; and never came to give such an absolution, or to receive such a promise. 4. If he had ever read any writer upon the present particular, he could never have made so defective a discourse of it, in which he has not told us so much as that this trial was at London; that the great duke of Lancaster and Henry marshal of England appeared in favour of the criminal, and finally were the occasion that the bishops left the court sooner than was intended.

XIII. We are acquainted, "That, after this, Wickliff relapsed. The same pope, hearing of it, complained of the English prelates; and, to shew what they ought to have done, condemned the propositions of Wickliff himself. The prelates, being ashamed to be out-done, assembled themselves at Canterbury in the form of a council; and pronounced, by the mouth of the archbishop of the place, who was their primate, an anathema

^a See the censure on Varillas above, p. 2.

^b Lib. v.

“against his doctrine.” And all this in king Edward’s reign, and the year 1374, p. 25.

1. To set him right in his chronology, this second convocation is on all hands affirmed to have fallen out in the reign of Richard II, which began June 21, 1377. 2. Whereas he makes our bishops so complaisant, as immediately to fall about what the pope had hinted to them by his example; it is evident, by the original acts still remaining, and to be seen in their proper archives, that he was forced to oblige them to it by formal letters, bearing date from Rome, “11 cal. Jun. anno 7 pontificatus;” though not put in execution till after the death of king Edward. Why does Mr. Varillas mention nothing of this bull? or is not the pope’s letter of as great moment, and as well deserving to be taken notice of, as a love-letter or a lampoon? 3. He is very unhappy in descending to particulars, and not keeping aloof in generals, and at a due distance: for, as in the first convocation he assigns us no place for their session, so here he hath given us a wrong one, and Lambeth is many miles from Canterbury. 4. The bishops met at Lambeth were so far from “pronouncing an anathema against “Wickliff’s doctrine,” that they found reasons not to give any definitive sentence; which had they done, it would have appeared on register, amongst other acts we have remaining of the same council.

XIV. This 1374 has been a very long year, and at last “king Edward dies in it;” who, however, I am well satisfied, was on the throne above two years after. “In his life-time he had tenderly loved the duke of Lancaster, and had given him outward demonstrations that he would leave him the crown; nevertheless, when he was dead, a will was found, written and signed with his hand, which rendered justice to the prince of Wales, in the person of his son Richard, then but twelve years old, and declared him successor, in exclusion to the duke of Lancaster, and the dukes of Gloucester and Cambridge, his brothers. “The parliament of England approved this will.” p. 25, 26.]

1. Mr. Varillas is the first discoverer of any demonstrations given by Edward III. to the duke of Lancaster, that should put him in hopes of the crown. On the contrary, Walsingham P tells us in express words, “Eo tempore, nondum finito parlamento,

P Hypodigmata Neustr.

“dominus

“dominus Edwardus, princeps Walliæ, 8 die Julii in die S. Trinitatis defungitur. Dominus Richardus de Burdegalia, filius dom. Edw. principis, in hoc parlamento factus est comes Cestriæ, et non multo post dux Cornubiæ et princeps Walliæ est creatus. Edwardus in festo S. Georgii apud Windeleshores contulit Richardo de Burdegal' hæredi suo ordinem militare.”

From hence any man of inference will see what reason the duke of Lancaster had to enlarge his hopes, and promise himself that prince Richard was not designed for the crown by his royal grandfather. Here is a will produced, never known in the world till Mr. Varillas printed his History: nothing of this in any of our Authors, but counterfeited by him, who is one of the first men that ever forged a testament without hopes of getting by it so much as a legacy. It is something observable, that he should deal so by a prince, who is the first in England that has made a statute about pillories. 3. A man that goes about a cheat should not be in haste, but let his invention tarry for his judgement. This will is so awkwardly contrived, that it betrays itself at first sight. The duke of Cambridge (as he calls him) is put after his younger brother; neither was he ever duke of Cambridge, but earl only, in which character he continued till 1386, when his nephew created him duke of York. Thomas of Woodstock is yet more beholden to Mr. Varillas, for having excluded him by the name of “the duke of Gloucester;” whereas he had no title when his father died, nor did he arrive to this dukedom till the abovenamed year 1386. Now it is a pretty hard conceit to suppose that the king did not know which of his sons was the elder, or that he should put by from the crown two dukes he had never heard of; or lastly, that, prophesying of the future honours of his children, he should guess right about one, and be mistaken about the other. 4. Not to harrafs him any more; as for what concerns the parliament after the king's death, I desire to know who should call it, if the new king was not yet approved, as he is pleased to term it. And about the act of approbation, I request of him to tell us where it is to be found, that so it may be put into the next edition of Keble.

XV. He informs us, p. 26, 27, “That the unfortunate Alix Perez avoided the punishment prepared for her, by embarking with what she had most precious upon a Flemish vessel, which

“ carried her to the coasts of Galicia. And the tutors of the
 “ young king forbore to seek after her, either because they
 “ thought her below their anger, or that they were persuaded the
 “ king of Castile would not abandon her to their discretion;
 “ because of the riches which she brought from England into
 “ Spain, or of the pretensions which the duke of Lancaster had
 “ upon his crown.” Thus far our Romancer. His friend Tacitus has begun his Annals with a verse; and Mr. Varillas, improving the humour, and advancing upon those grounds, has made his whole History into a poem. Had he lived in the days of knight-errantry, he would certainly have been invited over to the honourable employment of imperial historiographer in the court of Trebizond, and deserved a pension extraordinary from his highness Don Alphebo. Having here to do with a female, he has acquitted himself extremely civilly, and much like a gentleman, to re-conduct the strange lady to her own country, with all her jewels and other stolen accoutrements. But our rough Historians deal more unkindly by her, and tell us, that, by a parliament at Westminster, Alice Pierce had all her goods confiscate, and herself banished, so as really to be left “ the unfortunate Alix Perez.”

XVI. We are now coming on to Tyler's rebellion; and here our Author has given a master-stroke of his fancy, and has found a contrivance to draw in Wickliff for the author of the whole commotion: “ Wickliff, taking advantage of the king's minority, passed on from the clergy to vent his doctrine against the
 “ lay-nobility and magistracy; and at length came to a conclusion, that there ought to be no inequality in goods, but a
 “ community of all things. Having thus disposed the people's
 “ minds, he received into his party one *John Bales*, a man the
 “ most turbulent and seditious of all England: he was a priest
 “ by profession; and had escaped out of prison, where his ordinary
 “ had secured him. He, fearing to be re-taken, and not having
 “ means of subsistence beyond the seas, found there could be no
 “ safety for him without kindling a civil war. So, having often
 “ conferred with Wickliff, he preached and improved his opinions, so as to draw after him to the number of two hundred
 “ thousand persons, pretending to establish an equality, but indeed
 “ to put himself into the dignities of Simon de Suberia, arch-
 “ bishop

“bishop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England,” p. 27, 28, 29.] 1. I love an historian of a great soul and free thoughts, that scorns to be beholden to former accounts, and will go no farther than himself for his relations: it is an argument of a *vulgar spirit*, to be content to take up with what is written already, and present the world with nothing that is new. Wickliff’s preaching had no more relation to this rebellion, than the edition of Confucius in France had to the sufferings of the Hugonots, or than Mr. Varillas’s conclusions are used to have to his premises. It is well known by all men of judgement and reading, that Wickliff always defended order and distinction; that he himself took his degree of Doctor, and that his friends and patrons were of the nobility; and that all his troubles took their rise from his zeal in maintaining the supremacy of his prince; so far was he from being author of this tumult against him. To pass by our Author’s forgetfulness, who, having (p. 12.) brought in Wickliff as designing nothing but to revenge himself upon the pope’s officers and the clergy for a supposed affront received from them, does here undeservedly, and without reasons assigned, set him as hotly against the laicks and nobility. All agree, that the rebellion proceeded from the seeming oppressions, and from the taxes, the greatest that had ever been in England, thought to be unreasonably imposed, and insolently exacted in Kent and the neighbouring parts. 2. Now for John Ball, the seditious ecclesiastick, he was clapt up for tenets of his own; and was so far from having escaped prison, to go and enter into frequent consultations with Wickliff; and from thinking it necessary, after that, to raise the people of England for the security of himself, an inconsiderable curate; that the peasantry was first in arms; and amongst their other extravagances, having broke open the prisons, they set free with the rest this John Ball, who then indeed joined with his deliverers.

XVII. “The multitude (he says) marched on to the palace of the archbishop; where forcing entrance, they find the prelate upon his knees, and, with all the circumstances of horror, cut off his head. The troubles were renewed soon after in the provinces of Essex and Kent, and quickly passed into those of Norfolk, Suffolk, *Erfolk*, and Cambridge. Thence the Wickliffists advanced towards London in a body innumerable: they

"were a charge to no man; they paid for what they had, and
 "punished with death any that were convicted of having stolen.
 "When they were arrived at *Bloquet*, king Richard sent to de-
 "mand the reason of their taking arms; but received an answer
 "full of insolence: and when the mayor would have shut the
 "city-gates against them, he was hindered by those of the ordi-
 "nary sort. The seditious enter London, burn the count of
 "Lancaster's palace, and throw the goods of the count into the
 "river: then they invest the Tower, whither the king and court
 "had fled for refuge, gain entrance, and murder the chancellor,
 "treasurer, and other officers, hid in the Tower, and several
 "other churches of London," p. 29, 30, 31.] 1. I would have
 been glad if Mr. Varillas would have told us where this "palace
 "of the archbishop" stood, and whether it was not that at Lam-
 beth, near *Candamart*? It is sure, that the archbishop was not
 massacred in any palace he had; and before I end this paragraph,
 I will undertake that Mr. Varillas himself shall tell me so. 2.
 Amongst the provinces concerned in the tumults, we meet with
Ersolc for one: Mr. Camden and Mr. Adams knew nothing of
 such a place; and if Mr. Varillas will come over hither, and
 discover where this county lies, I engage my honour that at least
 the freeholders of it shall chuse him knight of the shire. 3. That
 the rebels were so exact in paying for what they had, I must beg
 his pardon, if I believe a mistake, not only by their actings, but
 also by their principles, which, Mr. Varillas told us before, were
 to make "all things common." But let us follow them to
Bloquet; which however we cannot do without a guide; for it is
 impossible to find any such place, unless by that name he means to
 understand Black-heath, or Barnet, or rather Mile-end. 4. The
 mayor not being suffered ["to change the city locks," or so much
 as] "to shut the gates," the peasantry came on, and plundered the
earl of Lancaster's house in the Savoy. Sure one would think
 they had deprived him of his dukedom too: for otherwise how
 comes it to pass that he who has hitherto been all along "*le duc*
 "*de Lancastre*," should be now on a sudden diminished into "*le*
 "*conte de Lancastre*?" By this figure of Varillism it was, that
 the lord Darley was brought down into a private gentleman, and
 the knights of king Henry into soldiers. If there were nothing
 else to be said about the present rebellion, this single passage were
 enough

enough to evince the rebels not to have been the disciples of Wickliff; for if so, this illustrious patron of his must needs have met with another sort of usage at their hands: though farther yet it may be noted, that Jack Straw in his last confession declared, "their design was to save the Mendicant friers;" an order of men, who had always shewed themselves the most violent enemies to Wickliff. 4. We are now come to the business of Simon de Suberia. Mr. Varillas mentioned above, that the archbishop was beheaded in his palace; and now assures us, that the chancellor is murdered in the Tower: either forgetting what he had told us before (p. 28.) that both those dignities were in one person, Sudbury; or designing to deter people from ambition and a desire of plurality in high offices, by shewing that a man must undergo as many several deaths as he holds preferments; and in this example, that the same person was first put to death in his spiritual capacity of archbishop, and again massacred some time after for his temporal qualification of state-minister: for that a man may be *two-fold*, was formerly seen, in the case of Charles V. The truth is this: Sudbury from the first beginning of these disturbances had followed the fortune and person of the king, and was at present retired with him into the Tower, where the multitude seized and beheaded him. So died a prelate, of whom our authors have given us a very honourable mention; and yet Mr. Varillas has been pleased to assign him so ill-natured and unjust a character (p. 23. 28, 29.), that one who reads it would think he had mistaken his man, and was describing the heretick Wickliff, instead of Sudbury the legate of the holy see. 5. Besides the chancellor, he tell us, more of the king's ministers were killed in "the Tower and *other churches*." Really Sir, if the Tower be a church, it is one of the largest and best-fortified churches in Europe. I have so good an opinion of his friend Mr. Sorbieri 9,

as

9 Samuel Sorbieri, a Frenchman, was bred first to divinity, and afterwards studied physick. He published in 1664 a relation of his voyage into England, which brought on him much trouble and disgrace. For his unwarrantable liberties against a nation whom France at that time thought it good policy to be well with, he was stripped of his title of historiographer, and sent into banishment. His book was discredited by a piece published against it in the very city of Paris; whilst Dr. Sprat ex-

as to think that, out of the little knowledge of England he pickt up here, he could have informed our Author, that the Tower is never looked upon by us as a cathedral, but as an arsenal: whither by this paper I invite Mr. Varillas to come over, and see the famous cannons with which Henry VIII. of glorious memory took Boloign.

XVIII. "Upon a pardon proclaimed, great numbers deserted; but a considerable party still kept together in a body, under the conduct of *Gauthier Iglor*, the most adroit and most resolute person amongst them". After the story of whose death, and some other passages, we find, that "Ball preached at *Seblaker*, to twenty thousand people; upon whose being seized and executed, the troubles had an end." At last he says, "That Wickliff was never present either at the assemblies of the seditious, or at the assassination of the archbishop of Canterbury" (p. 32, 33, 34.). 1. Our Author would have deserved much commendation, and saved the Reader a great deal of thinking, had he placed a key at the end of his book, as we see done in another work of the like nature, called "*Barclay's Argenis*;" it would have been easy then to have known a proper name under all its disguises; we should then have perceived, that *Haviet* was put for *Wiat*; *Gauthier Iglor* for *Wat Tyler*; and what had been the meaning of the not-yet-decyphered *Seblaker*, which we can only guess to be *Black-heath*. 2. By this last sentence, which truth has extorted from Mr. Varillas, it appears that *Wickliff* was altogether innocent, and that our Author would never have brought him into this rebellion, but to gain the topick of describing it; which *image*, with all its graceful circumstances, must otherwise have been lost, for want of an opportunity to introduce it.

posed it with much eloquence and wit at London. In Voltaire also we meet with this reflection: "I would not imitate the late Mr. Sorbierre, who, having staid three months in England, without knowing any thing either of its manners or its language, thought fit to print a relation, which proved but a dull scurrilous satire upon a nation he knew nothing of." Sorbierre died of a dropsy, April 9, 1670. He was not the author of any considerable work, though there are more than twenty publications of his of the smaller kind.—His name was afterwards borrowed by Dr. King, in the title of his "*Journey to London*."

XIX. "A schism happening between the popes, Wickliff, in the year 1382, makes his advantage of it; but, his offers being rejected by the parliament, he found himself obliged to retire into the province of Wales, newly subjected to the English. There he attacked the Benedictines by a writing: upon this, archbishop Courtney assembles a council at London, soon after Easter, where were condemned these propositions of Wickliff, That the substance of the bread and wine, &c. These articles thus condemned, Wickliff himself, being cited, made his appearance, where he abjured all he had taught without exception. This recantation they obliged him to put in writing, and recite over again. And this piece had been seen in its place amongst the other acts of this council, if the English compiler, too passionate for the glory of his nation, or unwilling to give arms to the Catholicks against the heresy of Calvin, of which he made profession, had not suppressed this retractation, and placed instead of it a profession of faith, which, properly speaking, is nothing but plainly a captious-qualification of the errors of this Heretick. The last act of the council was an ecclesiastic procedure against his three famous disciples, Rippendon, Hereford, and Aston," p. 36—42.

1. What is said in the beginning of this paragraph, we find nowhere warranted; nor that Wickliff ever was in Wales: which our Author makes "newly conquered" by the English; an expression something improper for a country that we had acquired no less than a hundred years before. 2. What he says was penned against the Benedictines, I have reasons to believe to have been no other than the two treatises written by Wickliff, and in the last century printed against the Mendicants. 3. It is acknowledged that Courtney, in a council called upon May 17, did condemn several conclusions; and that the same archbishop, upon June 20, sat upon Hereford, Reppingdon, and Ayshton, accused of holding those conclusions. Ayshton pleaded apart; the two other put into the court a paper, which the learned Sir Henry Spelman has published in his councils from the Ms. copy, in the principal registry of the archbishop of Canterbury, *Nuncupat.* "Courtney," fol. 25. At neither of these conventions, nor at any other time throughout this whole year, did Wickliff appear at all at London

before the archbishop. What assurance then must that man be master of, who dares affirm, that he made, wrote, recited in this council, a formal recantation of "all his opinions whatever without reserve;" whereas there is not so much as any pretended retractation of his of any kind, that can possibly be brought to concern any more than the single article about the blessed Eucharist? As for that accurate and honoured collector Sir H. Spelman, as this is the first time he has ever been accused of falsifying, so his confident accuser could not do it, without giving matter to any examining reader of returning the charge, and convicting him of his own calumny. For had this Historiographer of France but once vouchsafed to look into the book he has passed so blind a censure upon, he would easily have found that his Latin friends, who told him of such a palliation in behalf of Wickliff, had a little misinformed him. For such a palliation is so far from being there, that there is nothing that can possibly be thought like it, or mistaken for it, unless it be the abovenamed paper of Hereford and Reppington: which if he shall please to doubt of, whether it be authentic or no, upon his acceptance of my former invitation of him into England, I shall be willing, after we have seen his cathedral the Tower, to wait upon him up the water to Lambeth; where his worthy countryman, the learned Mr. Colomiez, on my account, will condescend to let him into the archives; upon promise, that he makes better use of the MSS. he sees there, than of those he calls "Cardinal Ballay's," which are of so nice and so retired a humour, that they will endure no visit from any other person besides Mr. Varillas: of whom I shall forbear to observe at present, how little he understands of the constitutions of the church of England, whatever pretences he makes to be a critick in the history of Heresies, who takes Sir H. Spelman for a Calvinist, and thinks there is no difference between Geneva and Great Britain.

XX. But to proceed. Mr. Varillas tells us, "that the aforesaid council, held at London, forbad all persons whatsoever to preach without permission from the bishops." Farther he adds, "That the decisions of this convocation at London were inserted in a decree of the University of Oxford, approved by Wickliff; which Spelman has also suppressed, to put in its place a piece, which can be manifestly convicted of forgery, by the
" testimony

“testimony of *Vington*, an irreproachable author in this matter,” p. 43].

1. I have so great a respect for the pious and worthy Sir H. Spelman, so basely handled by this transcriber of Florimond, this successor of Sorbriere, not at all acquainted with the character of books or credit of authors, that I cannot prevail with myself to discover how false the former part of this paragraph is, till I have cleared the latter. There has never been, perhaps, any layman, that has so devoutly served the cause of his mother the Church, as this incomparable gentleman. He has not only displayed with truth the former state of the English church, but bettered the present; and has left a work, which, if well considered, will do her justice as to the rights of her patrimony in after-ages. What can be said great of any man, that might not be said of him, who was so admirably learned, so judicious, so sincere, so pious, and in short was every thing that Mr. Varillas is not? Yet, for all this, the Frenchman has been pleased to reflect upon him, as “suppressing a certain decree of Oxford;” which animadversion betrays the Author not only not to have read the book, as we observed before; but farther yet, not to have seen so much as the title of it. For how absurd is it, to ask for a censure of the University, in a work that professes no more than a collection of “Church Constitutions;” when, by a parity of reason, he might as well fall upon the Author of the “Oxford Antiquities,” for omitting the relation of what has been acted in the synods at London! And now to compare *Vington* (I suppose he means *Knyghton*) to Sir H. Spelman, shews who does it. What use he can pretend to make of *Knyghton*, is to me a mystery; for in him nothing is seen of “the decisions of a Council of London, inserted in a decree of the University of Oxford, approved by Wickliff.” All that can be gathered from him is, that Wickliff made a recantation, there in full set down; which as it only concerns the point of the Eucharist, so it is so far from being indeed a recantation, that it is a free and resolute confession of that faith which is now maintained in the church of England; declaring, that our Saviour’s body is “verily and really present in the sacrament,” the bread however retaining its proper species. And I leave it even to Mr. Cockquelin to determine between us, whether that man may be concluded to renounce

renounce his opinion, the opposers of which he brands with heresy, and affirms, that at what time it was condemned by authority, a prodigy intervened to deter the judges from their unjust proceedings. Neither would Tyffington and Winterton, and Wellys, and many more of his zealous adversaries, have written purposely against this retractation; had it been so, and not rather a remonstrance; which, because we submit the whole matter to the reader's judgement, we have affixed at the end of these papers from the Copy in Knyghton^s: of whom, seeing Mr. Varillas has made mention, as an Author to be relied on in this matter, though in truth he was always an open enemy to Wickliffism; I desire leave to digress into a quotation or two out of him, to shew the state of the Wickliffists in those days. In his fifth book, he says, "In those days this sect was in great esteem, and so much increased in number, that a man could not see two people walking together, but one of them was a Wickliffist." And in another place, "That that party had gained half, or above half, the nation to their side:" and these not mechanicks, or the lowest sort of people, but, amongst them, "many knights," of whom he instances in some, "and dukes, and earls. That, since Wickliff had translated the Bible, even the women of that profession understood more than their clergy did:" for which he makes a long melancholy lamentation, and would fain persuade us, out of Gui de Sancto Amore, that Wickliff is indeed Antichrist: to whom, however he has done so much justice in his character, as to acknowledge him "a most eminent philosopher and divine;" and that "as his scholars always foiled their adversaries in their reasonings, so he himself went beyond all men of that age in disputing."

Upon the whole matter, if my opinion were to be asked, whether this Annalist Monsieur Vington be so altogether irreproachable; not to take any notice how small a man's credit ought to be in his own cause; I am afraid I should declare that to me he seemed a person of but a weak understanding and a very narrow information. Otherwise, in these few leaves Mr. Varillas pretends to have consulted, how could he have been so imposed upon as to think that Wat Tyler and Jack Straw were one and the same man? how could he so forget himself as to call that

^s See p. 33.

in words at length "the *second* year of king Richard," which, by his own account a little way off, is the *fourth*? or lastly, why should he exclaim against a preacher for this harmless remark, "That, amongst all the profelytes our Saviour made, he is never read to have gained a priest?" And all these things printed in his works, out of a manuscript thought to be of his own writing, by a person of unsuspected integrity, Sir Roger Twifden, who has given us at the beginning of the book the Author's own judgement of himself;

"Me metuo dubium pro veris sæpe locutum,
Plus audita loquor, quam mihi visa sequor."

Which ingenuous confession may serve indeed to atone for the mistakes of the well-meaning Canon; but will take away all pretences of excuse from Mr. Varillas, who without discretion embraces him as *irreproachable*. 2. It remains that we speak something to the former part of this paragraph; where we deny that in the London convocation held by Courtney, 1382, preaching without the episcopal license was forbidden: for in that synod, it was only resolved that Hereford and Reppingdon, and Ayshton, should be silenced and hindered from the pulpit: but for any general constitution to prohibit all men whatever from preaching without permission from the ordinary, it was the act of Th. Arundel, successor to Courtney in the see of Canterbury, who first procured it to be decreed. This may be seen in Lynwood¹ and Gascoign, famous authors of the century in which he lived. Nor are we bound to inquire if any of the little writers have said the contrary; since it is the duty of an Historian, not to take the advantage of any authority, but to be restless till he has the best. In the late confused account of the convocation, I had almost let pass without remark an intrigue of the duke of Lancaster's, where he makes all the right of that prince to the kingdom of Castile to proceed from "an excommunication of the king in possession, and a donation of it to duke John by the Pope" (p. 27. 40.); not knowing any thing of a propriety and just title he had acquired himself, by his marriage with Constance eldest daughter to the deceased king Pedro.

XXI. To make our last observation upon what we have undertaken to consider. He relates the death of Wickliff, which

¹ Diq. Theol. Ms. in Coll. Lincoln. Ox.

he represents as “an extraordinary act of God, in striking him “with a mortal palsy, upon the Feast of St. Th. Becket, against “whom he had prepared a sermon for the day.” After that, he acquaints us, “That his scholars acknowledged him for a faint, “and attributed false miracles to him, till, in the year 1486, “Archbishop Arundel, in a Council at London, not content to “condemn his doctrines as before, did also burn his books by “the hand of the hangman,” p. 45, &c.]

1. Thomas Becket is so well known, that no loyal Englishman can believe Providence would interpose in favour of him; which is still the less probable at present, because our better writers report this fit to have come upon Wickliff on the Festival of Holy Innocents, which is the day preceding. Dr. Gascoign^u, whose testimony about Wickliff must be unquestionable, has informed us, “that, having been troubled with a palsy for two years before, it then became fatal to him;” which, in the decayed state of old age, after a life spent in action, and the original heat now of course abated, can be no wonder. If the Monks were resolved not to let him die without a prodigy, it would have seemed much more plausible and taking, had they inflicted upon him the rickets or the small-pox. 2. If the scholars of Wickliff thought him a faint, and that he was assumed into glory, they did but as became men of reason and those who had been witnesses of the sanctity of his life and purity of his doctrines. But for what follows about “the false miracles,” it is sheer invention; neither was Mr. Varillas very wary, to mention any thing of that nature in the same page with Thomas of Canterbury: for Wickliff’s followers made no pilgrimages to Lutterworth, nor did they ever turn up the cloaks of their adversaries to look for their tails. 3. As to the business of Arundel, and the “burning of “the books,” which, in words at length, he makes to be done in the year 1486, it is impossible to be reconciled to truth: that action in reality fell out about the year 1410; so we are willing to think Mr. Varillas’s pen has slipped, and by chance mistaken a hundred-years, and that he meant to ascribe it to A. D. 1386. because (in p. 42.) he tells us, “that, in the preceding year 1385, “Courtney died, and Arundel succeeded in the archbishoprick “of Canterbury:” which however is notoriously false; for

^u In pag. ante Hist. Ivonis Carnotens. Ms. in Bibl. Cotton.

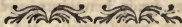
Courtney died not till July 31, 1396 (unless he died twice, in imitation of his predecessor Sudbury); and the same year, about Christmas, was Arundel translated to Canterbury.

I have at last, not without great violence used upon my inclination, passed through what relates to England in the First Book of Mr. Varillas; and I think I may have deserved as many livres for my patience, as he has had for his invention. If nothing will persuade him to renounce his pen and ink; but he has sworn still to go on writing legends, to the utter destruction of Monsieur Barbin and his family, and to the everlasting disgrace of Mr. Coquelein; and in the mean time is willing to continue his scene in England, I shall take the boldness to recommend to his fancy the renowned story of the ten thousand Ursulins, which at present labours under a few inconveniences, and is not so well received as it deserves by some scrupulous hereticks. For the truth of what he shall say, I confess, I am not able to help him to any such manuscripts as he commonly makes use of; but in lieu, I can tell him where at a very cheap rate he may furnish himself with witnesses. But to let him know in truth what the world thinks of him: he has writ away all his credit; his last defence of himself has proved him inexcusable, and made men apt to think that, as in England at present, so in France too, the same person that is Historiographer is also Laureat. Hence it might be, that Monsieur Varillas, in his "Revolutions," takes all the liberties of a Poet; and Mr. Dryden, in his conference between the "Hind and Panther," though in verse, has aimed at all the plainness and gravity of an Historian.

For History is indeed a serious matter; not to be written *carelessly*, like a letter to a friend; nor with *passion*, like a billet to a mistress; nor with *brass*, like a declamation for a party at the bar, or the remonstrance of a minister for his prince; nor, in fine, by a man unacquainted with the world, like soliloquies and meditations. It requires a long experience, a sound judgement, a close attention, an unquestionable integrity, and a style without affectation: all which glorious accomplishments, as they are wanting in the Author of "The Revolutions in Matters of Religion;" so there is no Historian that I know of, in whom they have shewed themselves to so high and admirable a degree,

as in a Physician of our Age ^w, who has obliged the World with a "History of Diseases;" and whose name is too great to mention in a pamphlet of this character.

^w Dr. Sydenham is probably the person intended. He was born in 1624: and, from 1660 to 1670, was the chief physician in London. He was of a generous, charitable, and public spirit, master of an elegant style, an exact observer of the symptoms of diseases, and more famous for his works abroad, than he had been by his practice at home, which was greatly decreased after 1670, when he was extremely afflicted with the gout. He published "Observationes Medicæ circa Morborum acutorum Historiam et Curationem," 1676, 8vo. He died Dec. 29, 1689. The best Edition of his Works is that in one volume, 8vo. translated by John Swan of Newcastle, M. D. 1742.



The Belief of Dr. John Wickliff, in the point of the Eucharist, which by heedless men has been called his Recantation.

“ WE believe, as Crist and his Apostolus han tauzt us, that
 “ the Sacrament of the Auter white and ronde and like tyl oure
 “ brede or oft unfacrede is verray Goddus body in fourme of
 “ brede; and if it be broken in thre parties os the Kirke uses, or
 “ elles in a thousand, everlky one of these parties is the same
 “ Godus body; and right so as the persone of Crist is verray God
 “ and verray man, verray Godhede and verray manhede, ryth so as
 “ holy Kyrk many hundrith wynter has trowyde, the same Sacra-
 “ ment is verray Godus body and verray brede: os it is forme
 “ of Goddus body and forme of brede, as techith Crist and his
 “ Apostolus. And therefore Seynt Poul nemyth it never but
 “ whan he callus it bred, and he be oure beleve tok his wit of God
 “ in this: and the argument of heretykus agayne this sentens
 “ lyeth to a Christene man for to assolve. And right as it is he-
 “ resie for to trowe that this Sacrament is Goddus body and no
 “ brede, for it is bothe togedur. But the most heresie that God
 “ sufferide come tyl his Kyrke, is to trowe that this Sacrament is
 “ an accident with a substance, and may on no wise be Goddus
 “ body: for Crist sayde, be witnessse of John, that this brede is my
 “ body, and if the say that be this skylle that holy Kyrke hat bene
 “ in heresie many hundred wynter, sothe it is, specially sythen the
 “ fende was lousede that was be witnessse of Angele to John
 “ Evangeliste aftur a thousande wynter that Crist was stenenyde
 “ to heven. But it is to suppose that many seyntes that dyede in
 “ the mene time before her detz were purcede of this erreure.
 “ Owe howe grete diversite is betwene us that trowes that this
 “ Sacrament is very brede in his kynde, and betwene heretykus
 “ that tell us that this an accident withouten a subiecte. For
 “ before that the fende fader of lesyng us was lowside, was never
 “ this gabbing contryvede. And howe grete diversite is betwene
 “ us that trowes that this Sacrament that in is kinde is verray
 “ brede and sacramentally Goddus body, and betwe heretykes
 “ that trowes and telles that this Sacrament may on none wyse be
 “ Goddus

"Goddus body. For I dar fewrly say, that zif this were soth,
 "Crist and his seyntes dyede heretykus, and the more partye of
 "holy Kyrke belevyth nowe heresie, and before devoute men
 "supposene this confayle of Freres and London was with the
 "hery dene. For they put an heresie upon Crist and seynts in
 "hevyne: wherefore the erthe tremblide fayland maynnus voys
 "ansueryde for God als it dide in tyme of his passion whan he was
 "dambnyde to bodely deth. Crist and his modur that in gronde
 "had destroyde all heresyfes kepe his Kyrke in right beleve of
 "this Sacrament, and wene the King and his rewme to ask sharply
 "of his clerkus this offis, that alle his possessioners on paine of
 "lesying of all her temporaltes telle the King and his rewme
 "with sufficient grownding, what is this Sacrament, and alle the
 "orders of Freres on paine of lesying of her legians telle the
 "King and his rewme with gode grounding what is the Sacra-
 "ment. For I am certaine of the thridde partie of clergie that
 "defendus thise doutes that is here faide, that they will defende
 "it on paine of her lyf."

A N I M A D V E R S I O N S
O N
A P R E T E N D E D A C C O U N T
O F
D E N M A R K,

As it was in the Year 1692.

“ I think it very pertinent to take notice, that in DENMARK
“ there are no seditions, mutinies, or libels against the govern-
“ ment,”

Account of Denmark ^a, p. 246.

First printed in 1694.

^a Dr. King's references are to the editions of Lord *Molesworth's* book published in 1694, it having passed through three editions in that year. From the *third*, which was said in the Title to have been *corrected*, a fourth, carefully revised, was printed in 1738, with the very useful additions of Bp. Robinson's Account of Sweden as it was in the year 1688; Mr. Jackson's Memorial to the Court of Sweden on the conduct of Charles XII; Count Gyllemborg's Remarks on the Memorial, under the character of an English Merchant; and, A Narrative of the Death of Count Patkul,

* * The "Animadversions on the Account of Denmark" were written at the request of the Reverend Mr. Brink, Minister of the Danish Church in London; a person whose merit, travels, and knowledge of the world, have deservedly gained him the favour of the present King of Denmark, upon whom he is now an attendant at Venice. From him, assisted by his excellency Monsieur Scheel, who resided here as envoy extraordinary, I had the memoirs which composed these papers, which had the honour not to be unacceptable to his Royal Highness Prince George^b; and, when sent to Denmark, were, by the late King's order, turned into French, and read to him as fast as they could be translated. They have had two editions that I have seen, one in Holland, and the other in Germany. I should be ungrateful, if I did not likewise acknowledge the great honour which the University of Copenhagen did me, in a letter under the seal of that learned and flourishing body. I take it as one of my greatest happinesses, that, by the means of my acquaintance with Mr. Brink, I accompanied him to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishop of London, with letters from the Bishop of Copenhagen, testifying the respect he had for their Lordships, and just regard and veneration for the Church of England. As to the matters of fact laid down in these papers, I am no further accountable; but I believe none of them can be contradicted.

Dr. King's Preface to his Miscellanies.

^b They procured our Author the office of secretary to the princess Anne.

TO MR. MOLESWORTH^c.

SIR,

YOU have borne so great a character in the world, and have a reputation so universal, that I cannot but think those people, who have fathered upon you "The Account of Denmark," lately printed, have done it only with a design to injure you; for certainly a man of such settled principles as you are, of thoughts so sedate and composed, would never expose any thing to the public view, which you would not set your name to; and let the account of a country so considerable as Denmark be put forth without so much as any mention of the Licenser or Printer, like a common pamphlet or lampoon. Monsieur Sorbier^d put his name to a scandalous description of England; though he relates several passages altogether as inconsiderable and ridiculous as that the Describer of Denmark tells us, p. 95, "That, being a great lover of green geese, he could get none of the country people; till a superstitious old woman told him, she

^c Robert Molesworth, esq. of Edlington in Yorkshire. On the Revolution, he distinguished himself by an early and zealous attachment to liberty; and in 1689 was sent by king William envoy extraordinary to Denmark, at which court he resided several years; and soon after his return published, in 1694, his Account of that kingdom, a work much talked of, translated into many foreign languages, and almost immediately followed by these Animadversions. Mr. Molesworth wrote many other pieces in defence of liberty and the common rights of mankind. A discourse of his, on Agriculture, is much commended by Dr. Swift, vol. ix. p. 363. He was member of the privy council in Ireland to queen Anne till, in January 1714, he was dismissed on a complaint from the lower house of convocation. He was restored to his place at that board by king George I; who made him one of the commissioners of trade and plantations, and created him viscount Molesworth and baron of Philipstown, July 15, 1716. He had published, the March preceding, a volume of Poems, inscribed to the Princess Caroline, in a Dedication consisting of 47 pages; in which he foresaw it would be objected that he had published a little Book for the sake of the Dedication, as he had done once before [in his "Account of Denmark"] for the sake of a Preface. The *Drapier's* Fifth Letter was addressed to his lordship Dec. 14, 1724; and he died on the 22d of May following.

^d See above, p. 23.

“ had four at his service, imagining that otherwise the kite would “ have them ;” or rather, otherwise, being an old woman full of bowels (as hostesses usually are), being afraid that the gentleman should lose his longing.

Besides, Sir, what man of sense can think that a Gentleman of your parts would write so tedious a Preface ^e, that has so little relation to the description pretended, would spend three or four pages to persuade the world, that “ Liberty is easy,” and “ Health “ is valuable ;” things that were granted by the Author’s great-grand-mother ; would fling away four or five pages more, to inform the world, that *thinking men* may improve themselves by conversation and travel. Whereas if that Author, instead of his important scraps of Latin, as “ *Toto divisos orbe Britannos ;*” “ *Res est ridicula et nimis jocosa* ^f ;” had given us these two verses of Horace ^g,

“ *Dic mihi, Musa, virum, captæ post tempora Trojæ,*

“ *Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes ;*”

we should have framed a greater idea of that advantage from Homer’s character of Ulysses, and perhaps have found that he improved as much by visiting the monster Polypheme, as any of this Author’s Disciples may do, whom he would send for *maxims* as far as China and Japan, and to search “ for such regulations of “ government as are fit for models to the most civilized Euro-
“ peans amongst the man-eaters and savage Americans ;” who, being *great philosophers*, must, in pursuance of this Author’s advice, become *very excellent tutors*. Farther, Sir, I am not of opinion that you would have our Two Universities to reform their statutes, and direct their studies according to some new methods of modern learning ; for, as their habits are the same “ which “ they wore in Harry the Eighth’s time,” and yet are still very decent and becoming, so their old Philosophy has likewise its peculiar uses. We see by experience, that such as neglect and despise the disputations of the Schools, who laugh at the dark terms and subtilties of Aristotle and his nice Commentators, when they once come to writing, find the want of their Logick (for that and Grammar generally revenge themselves upon their adversaries). They trifle instead of arguing ; their method is con-

^e Dr. Swift says, *Molesworth’s* Preface is full of stale profligate topics, and the Book itself written out of spite. Vol. xiii. p. 150.

^f Altered from Catullus liv. 1.

^g See Ep. I. ii. 19.

fused; and, when they should urge any single point, they run from one thing to another; and their discourse is as lax and undigested as the Preface of that Author we are treating of.

Neither, Sir, can I imagine that you would have the nobility and gentry of any country “commit the education of their children to Philosophers, and not to Priests; and by the former have moral virtues preached up to them, such as fortitude, temperance, and contempt of death; their instructors using pious cheats, as Elysian fields, &c. and by those methods even deceiving their hearers into greatness; these Philosophers thus excelling the managers of our modern education.” For I suppose, Sir, you are sensible of the great benefits that youth receive, by being bred up under grave and religious Clergymen; for, though Tully’s Offices be a very good book, yet the Bible, in my opinion, is a better. Besides Morality, which youth ought to be instructed in, they are likewise to be taught how to be good Christians; and there is, to my knowledge, an eminent school in this nation, where the youth are not trained up “only to the understanding of words and languages” (though at the same time those are taught there with the greatest accuracy); where they are kept in a sense of duty and obedience to their superiors, by a certainty of future punishments to them that transgress, and everlasting happiness to such as do well; where they are constantly called upon to give a sensible and rational account of their faith, I mean that contained in the Catechism, Homilies, and Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; where there is no day passes without their reading a considerable portion of the Holy Scriptures in the original languages: and a better foundation is laid for a greatness of mind and contempt of death, from the example of our blessed Saviour, than can be framed from any pattern amongst the Grecian and Roman heroes. However it comes to pass, the Author, among all the Roman heroes, has unfortunately pitched upon Brutus, “as the true pattern and model of exact virtue:” and yet, in relation to the death of Cæsar, all circumstances considered, a youth that is bred up to a sense of gratitude, honour, or common justice, will look upon him as ungrateful, and a base assassin; and will necessarily despise him, when he sees him deserting that virtue which he pretended to admire, and in a sudden despair exclaiming against it as an empty name. A very fine

model indeed for a man of quality, and which must affect him much more when he shall “ find the practices of persons of the “ like stamp, in this particular, founded upon reason, justice, and “ truth, and unanimously approved of by most of the succeeding “ wise men which the world has produced.” I should be glad to see a list of those wise men who were of his opinion, that I may be satisfied whether our Author has done justice to Ravilliac^h and some other heroes of this latter age; and that our Author’s own name (if his courage be equal to his inclination) may be added to it upon occasion.

Moreover, Sir, there are several observations and political maxims throughout the whole Preface, which favour very much of a commonwealth, and would not well become any person that has had the honour to serve their Majestiesⁱ, or that heartily consults their real interest or the glory of the English nation. For in the first place he says, “ If we look backwards, it is a true “ reflection, that our late kings half undid us, and bred us up “ narrow-spirited so long, till the world had almost overlooked “ us, and we seldom were permitted to cast an eye farther than “ France or Holland.” If peace, ease, and plenty, could be said to undo us, we were indeed undone; and then as for our ignorance of the affairs of other nations, we must necessarily be in a most profound one, when we had our ministers at Cologne, and afterwards at Nimeguen; when the King of England’s mediation was accepted by all the princes then in war, and the pretensions of the most considerable states in Europe left to his Majesty’s arbitration. But it seems at present we are in a better condition; and the Preface, to our comfort, tells us, “ that we make “ a greater figure in the world than formerly, and have a right to “ intermeddle in the affairs of Europe.” And here a true Englishman may think that something has been said to the honour of his country: when, alas! if he reads but the next page (for the Author cannot write consistently two pages together), he will find, “ that we do not live up to our post, and maintain our character; “ that we are insulted on our own coast, our trade endangered, “ and in apprehension every year of an invasion and a French conquest.” Not in such dismal apprehensions neither, Sir! for, as

^h The assassinator of Henry the Fourth of France.

ⁱ King William and Queen Mary.

our "ancient yeomanry and commonalty could draw the long bow, and handle the brown bill," so their sons will charge a musket, or draw a sword, in defence of the public liberty and the right of their Majesties, against any commonwealth's-men or foreigners that shall dare to invade them. The Author seems to have inserted these passages to shew himself impartial, and to let the Danes see that they have no great reason to complain of ill usage, since he is as scurrilous upon his own countrymen.

In the second place, to come to some other of his observations; it may very possibly be proved, in contradiction to what he has advanced, "that the *jus divinum* of kings and princes was a notion in the Northern parts of the world, long before these later ages of slavery;" that is, before Milton ever wrote, or England suffered under the tyranny of a commonwealth. Even passive obedience, however unintelligible to this Author, as stated by reverend and learned Divines, though it should still be maintained by them under their present Majesties, would be more suitable to sovereign authority, and the welfare of these nations, than any doctrines since coined: for the Ecclesiasticks established by the laws of this realm are so far from "having an interest separate from, and opposite to, the publick," as our Author would insinuate, that no persons have defended the true constitution of the English government with greater temper and hazards. Now the constitution of England, as set forth by them, is, That the King's prerogative be kept sacred; the Lords Spiritual and Temporal have their authority and honours supported; that the privileges as well as properties of the Commons be inviolably preserved. When any of these have been encroached upon by the other, the English clergy have in all ages made a vigorous stand; and the public liberty has been so dear to them, that many of them have sacrificed their own freedom to it.

Sir, I shall not trouble you much longer; only tell you, that a principal reason why we should not take this Book to be yours, is a remark which may be found in authors that treat concerning Ambassadors, *viz.* that he ought "to be no detractor or speaker-ill of any king or state, but more especially of him or them with whom he remains." The reasons are plain, because detraction is beneath the honour of the Prince whose character he sustains; and then such actions would make Ambassadors from
such

such a Prince be treated for the future rather as spies and enemies, than as men whose persons are to be held sacred. We are of opinion, that nothing could make you swerve from this rule; and that no provocation could force you to it. However, there are two things that happened in Denmark, which to another man might give some small occasion, and are as follow. It seems, an Envoy there, who had been above three years in the Danish court, where at first he was very welcome, became at last to be very disagreeable, by boldly pretending to some privileges, that by the custom of the country are denied to every body. There is throughout all Sealand a double road; one is common to all people; the other, called "the King's Road," is reserved to his Majesty of Denmark and attendants; this is shut up with several gates, and has great ditches on both sides of it. The Envoy, travelling one day to Helsingor, was resolved to pass this way in his chariot, and accordingly did so, after he had broken down the gates; which action as it would have been a great misdemeanor in any Dane, so it was resented by the Court as a rudeness in a foreigner.

At another time, this same Envoy went to the isle of Amack, near Copenhagen, where abundance of hares are kept for the King of Denmark's game, and that with so much care, that any man is severely punishable who presumes to kill one of them, unless in the king's company; however, this Gentleman was resolved to have a *course*; but, in his way thither, was accosted by one of the King's huntsmen, who desired him to send his dogs back, otherwise he was in duty obliged to shoot them. Instead of any reply to this, one of the Envoy's footmen cut the keeper over the head with his sword: the man, all bloody as he was, went presently to Count Reventlaw, great master of the game, and made his complaint to him. These actions being represented to the King, his Majesty was extremely offended at them, and shewed it by the cold reception the Envoy afterwards met with at court; who was likewise given to understand, that he was not very welcome there. Upon this, pretending business into Flanders, he retired thither without any audience of leave, and from thence went home, where his Master would have had him return, and perform that ceremony; but he rather chose to lose the presents given upon those occasions, than visit a court again that had been so justly offended with

with him: and yet pretended to be angry, because he had not this usual present for Envoys, which his own rudeness and absence deprived him of.

Even these things could scarce ever sour a Gentleman's temper, so far as to make him bespatter a whole country, as the Author of the "Account of Denmark" has done; to conceal several things that would have been for the credit of that nation; to set truth in such a light, as to appear quite different from itself in the relation; and to advance a great many particulars in which he may be plainly contradicted.

I would not, Sir, believe any thing like this of you; and therefore shall proceed with the more freedom in examining the book itself,

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON THE PRETENDED

ACCOUNT OF DENMARK.



CHAP. I.

Of the Territories belonging to the King of Denmark, and their Situation.

DENMARK has always had a particular interest with England: our very ancestors came originally from one of its provinces; it has once been our master, and we are now governed by princes whose great-grand-mother was a daughter of it; nor can there be any dearer pledge of the Danish affection to us, than that the only brother to its King resides amongst us, and has made us happy in a young Prince, who promises one day to equal the great families from which he is descended ^k.

Whilst 7000 Danes are fighting for us in their Majesties service, it is very ungenerous in the Author of the "Account" to reflect upon them; who, if he must have been malicious, should rather have chosen an enemy's country for the subject of his satire.

^k Prince William was born July 24, 1689, and nominated duke of Gloucester; but died, before his creation, July 30, 1700. In 1696, the day he was seven years old, he was installed knight of the Garter. In 1698, his household was settled; the Earl of Marlborough being appointed his Governor, and Bp. Burnet his Preceptor; who says, "he used all endeavours to excuse himself;" but, after he had entered on his charge at the King's express command, gives an ample account of his royal pupil's progress in literature. See his History, vol. iii. p. 290. 340.

If

If we consider the frequent applications that have been made, both by the Confederates and the French King, to have the King of Denmark declare in their favour, we shall be apt to look upon him as a Prince that is very considerable, and not agree with this Author, who tells us, p. 2, "that, if he were put in balance "with the King of Portugal, he would be found lighter." This is a comparison no reasonable man would be guilty of making; for the armies, navy, and strength, of the former will certainly very much overpoise the latter: and then Denmark lies so as to be able to make use of these advantages, either to the offending of its enemies, or relief of its friends: and though Portugal has a good East India trade; yet the commodities of Denmark and Norway, especially those that relate to shipping, make its trade necessary to Portugal itself and most other countries in Europe.

Besides, the kingdom of Denmark, with all its provinces, is very large, insomuch that the first words of this Author's book are, p. 1, "That if we consider the extent of the King of Denmark's dominions, he may with justice be reckoned amongst "the greatest princes of Europe." For though Schone, Halland, and Blegind, by treaty remain to the Swedes, yet I cannot allow this Author what he says, p. 3, "that they were the best provinces "belonging to Denmark." Nor do I really think that he has a sufficient knowledge, which provinces are the most considerable; for he seems only to have been in Copenhagen and thereabouts: the reason is, because what he speaks as to the nature and constitution of Denmark, in relation to the fertility of the country, or the common life of the people, can in no manner be applied to any other part but to Sealand only, where Copenhagen stands, and is not above a fourth part of Denmark. Now this island, lying under the disadvantages of a particular law, is not in so good a condition as the other provinces; though that, and a great deal of Jutland, is still better than either Halland or Blegind; and though Schone be a fine province, yet it does no way excel Funen, as well as other parts of Denmark. However, this Author says, p. 3, "that these three provinces are still looked "upon by the Danes with a very envious eye; and for this "reason it is reported that the windows of Croneborg castle, "whose prospect lay towards Schone, were walled up, that so
"hateful

“hateful an object might not cause continual heart-burnings.” Very well, Sir; pray did “your own knowledge or experience confirm this to be a truth?” (p. 2.) or did some of your “sensible grave persons,” p. 2, impose this silly story upon you? For, when you was at Croneborg, you might have found that some windows were indeed walled up for the advantage of the fortress, but not to hinder the sight of Schone; the situation of Croneborg being such, that now those windows are close, yet Schone must be seen from the apartments of both the other sides; so that, to make this suggestion true, all the rooms must be quite darkened; and then, Sir, it would be a fit place in which you might employ your fancy and invention in framing more such stories: nay, this fable is so ridiculous, that, if the King of Denmark should avoid the pretended “heart-burnings occasioned by seeing Schone,” p. 3, he must not only forbear coming to Croneborg, but also leave Copenhagen and that side of Sealand opposite to Schone, and must also chuse his residence in Jutland, or some other remote place, where he could be free from that hateful object.

Though, indeed, were Denmark, as he represents it, p. 4, (comprehending all its islands), “no bigger than two thirds of Ireland;” the loss of a province or two would be of a very tender concern to it. But, Sir, where people have any knowledge of geography, and understand how to measure a map, they will find that Denmark, as it now remains, has much more ground than there is in all Ireland. It is indeed a needless trouble that I have given myself to confute this remark in the Author’s fourth page, because his first hath already contradicted it to my hand.

Poor Norway falls next under his censure, p. 4, as having a very dangerous and unlospitable shore; we must look for nothing there but wrecks; for when the night, or a storm, overtakes poor mariners, the *deep sea* and *high rocks* never fail to accomplish their ruin. And this dismal relation may be very true, for any thing this Author knows to the contrary. The coast of Norway is indeed high and rocky; but all along the same there are ports very near to one another, so that, with a very little knowledge of that sea, you may every where find a harbour behind the rocks, and shelter from the greatest storms: and any seaman, who is acquainted with that voyage, will tell you, that

he would ten times rather venture amongst the rocks of Norway in a storm, than the sands of England: the reason is, because he may there find shelter in every place, but here are not so many entrances between the sands. What he says, "that there is no anchorage for ships," p. 4, is another proof of his exact information; for in several places there is anchorage half a league and more into the sea: and where there is no such before the land, there is, as has been mentioned, a safe entrance between the rocks, to anchor there.

However the Author may have streightened the King of Denmark as to his dominions in Europe, yet he has given him a prodigious fort in the East-Indies, which he calls Tranquebar, p. 6: and this is another instance of his extraordinary accuracy; for, if it be a fort, it is of a great many miles extent. The coast indeed, upon which the Danes have built, is by the Indians called Tranquebar; but the fort itself has never had any other name than Daneborg.

But to come to a general character of the King of Denmark's dominions. According to the Account, p. 6, "they all lie under this great inconveniency, that they are mightily disjoined and separated from each other; and that to this principally the conquests which the Swedes have gained upon them may be ascribed,"

First, the Danish provinces are not so mightily separated as this gentleman would persuade us, since a sound of 4, 5, or 7 leagues is the greatest distance between any of them: only Norway, indeed, is further off; but then it can maintain and defend itself.

Secondly, this pretended inconveniency is a real advantage, especially against the incursions of any foreign enemy: and this truth was demonstrated in the famous war with Sweden; for, had not the signal disposition of Providence frozen up the Belt to that degree as was never remembered before nor happened since, the Swedes could not have besieged the capital city of that kingdom; for the streams which divide the provinces of Denmark afford them this security, that, so long as the royal navy is safe, Copenhagen, which is the main strength of that country, can fear nothing.

C H A P. II.

Of Denmark in particular, and the Island of Sealand.

BUT to what end have we laboured hitherto, in the foregoing Chapter? Let the country be never so large, if at the same time it be barren, the extent of it signifies little. Sealand is that unhappy province, "whose fertility cannot be commended" by the Author, it having no "bread corn (p. 8.) except rye," which he owns "to be in good quantity." I hitherto thought that, when a field was sown with grain, if the crop answered the utmost expectation of its owner, the field might be commended for its fertility; and if, upon the Author's arrival, he did not find wheat got ready on purpose for him, it was because, rye bread being more acceptable to the Danish nation, and agreeing better with their health and constitution, the farmer hoped to make a better market of his rye amongst his countrymen, than he should do of wheat to fatten *green geese* or *cram capons* for his Worship.

And indeed we shall find as little reason for his being disgusted at the air of the country which, he says, p. 8, "is but indifferent, especially in and near Copenhagen, occasioned by frequent fogs, and its low situation." Any body who has been in Sealand must allow the air to be very good. Copenhagen has only the inconvenience which all populous cities are subject to, in not having it quite so clear as in the country; though the wholesomeness of it appears by the healthiness of the inhabitants: and as to fogs (which they are seldom troubled with), no man ought to complain of them, who may very probably have lived in Dublin.

He is just to the country for six lines, in telling us, "the face of the land is pleasant," &c. p. 9; and "that there is a most excellent port belonging to Copenhagen:" but he presently comes to himself, and says, "they have no other ports in the kingdom; nor indeed much occasion in Sealand, since they have no commodities to ship from them."

Notwithstanding this Gentleman's intelligence, there are very good sea-ports throughout all Denmark, of which I shall mention the following only, each of them capable of harbouring vessels

veffels of 200 tun or more. In Sealand; Corfoer, Callundborg, Holbeck, Wordingborg, &c. In Funen; Nyborg, Affens, Kierfeminde, &c. In Jutland; Aalborg, Aarhus, Horsens, Rinkio-bing, &c. In Falster; Laland, &c. Naskow, Nykiobing, &c. too many here to enumerate. And then from Sealand there is a considerable quantity of corn sent every year to Norway; and the last year but one, viz. 1692, abundance likewise was carried to Holland. The reason why there may not be so much exported at present as has been heretofore is because, contrary to what he affirms, p. 10, "That the number of the inhabitants are not encreased," the inhabitants of Copenhagen are twice as many as they were twenty years ago.

Corn indeed would be much scarcer, if the King's game were so arbitrary as he pretends, p. 9, to make them; and those "sacred things might range the fields, and no man dare to touch them." The countrymen, I will assure you, Sir, are not obliged to you for the law you have newly made them; since they have in Denmark hitherto had an equal liberty as in other countries; to disturb their entertainment.

Come we now to the business of their eating, in which the reflector seems to be extremely curious. Some one burgher of Copenhagen has undoubtedly disobliged him with an ill dinner, which was a wonder; for their way of eating and drinking is so far above meanness, that it rather inclines to luxury; three or four dishes of several meats is but a common dinner for the middle people, and generally their supper equals it. Nay, the very boors throughout all Denmark and Norway will not be satisfied, if they have not their three meals a day, and those commonly of warm meat; so that, when the countryman in England is contented with his bread and cheese to supper, the Danish and North peasants must have their pot on the fire, or else they will go to their *feather-beds* (than which, our Author says, no man can have *better*, p. 88,) with great uneasiness. It is true; meat and fish when salted is more acceptable to the Danes, as well as other Northern people, and agrees better with their constitution; and it would be a hardship instead of a delicacy to them, to have so much fresh meat as is customary in England. But, were the diet of the burghers even as hard as he describes it, yet I am credibly informed that the servants of a public Minister

there (who shall be nameless) would have been very glad to partake of it; since their master's house-keeping was so far from abounding, that they found too frequent occasions to complain openly. And whereas the Author of the Account says, p. 10, 11, that, "if the inspectors of the English market should come to those of Copenhagen, they would find the victuals bad enough to be sent only to the prisons;" those poor servants would have been infinitely obliged, should they in pity have commanded an officer to stop and set his basket down now and then at his Excellency's.

Their peasants live as plentifully as in other countries; they have good flesh and salt fish, white meats, roots, &c. But what signifies all this (according to our Author, p. 11) since necessary "fresh fish is wanting?" I could heartily condole their condition, if my tenants in Northampton and Leicestershire would not take exception; for, if they found me once so indulgent to the peasants of another nation, they would certainly expect a double barrel of Colchester oysters by the next carrier; and without a cod's head, smelts, or turbot, I might e'en go to plow myself for Hodge and Sawney.

But what is most admirable to me is, that there can be any thing fit to eat throughout all Denmark, since, according to this Author's description, p. 11, it seems to be exempted from part of the common promise which God made to Noah and mankind, "that, while the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease¹;" for he says, p. 11, "that at Copenhagen, and in all Denmark, they never have spring, and seldom autumn." This assertion could proceed only from such a one as in his Preface he calls "a very traveller, or at least an ill-natured and unthinking person," since so many people are able to confute him as have ever lived there but a twelvemonth. Then for those three months of June, July and August, which he calls summer, he has provided sufficient plagues for them; first, "the interposition of thick vapours," &c. p. 11; which, upon examination, will be found to be only clouds in his own understanding. Secondly, his plague of flies, of which he has

¹ Gen. viii. 22.

“seen whole bushels swept together in one room, p. 12.” A bushel, fir! (if of Winchester measure) will hold a great many flies: and what makes this seem more incredible is, that Domitian the imperial fly-killer, though in Italy (a very hot country), when he had taken his half-peck, thought he had had very plentiful game.

The city of Copenhagen does not more abound in flies, than it is on the contrary wanting in fish; for the Author, p. 12; “never knew a sea town of that consequence worse served with “it.” The Baltick indeed is not so well stored with fish, as some other seas; but yet in Copenhagen there is sea fish, as cod, flounders, &c. brought from other places, and sold there very cheap. The reason why it is not still cheaper, by being brought thither as it might be in greater plenty, is because their fresh-water fish is in vast quantities, and, as he says, p. 92, “makes *full* “amends, there being the best carp, tench, perch and crawfish; “that are to be found any where.”

He now leads us to a description of the city of Copenhagen, p. 12; “for (it seems) when he has done that, he shall have “little more to say of any other in the King of Denmark’s dominions, there being no other belonging to him much better “than our town of St. Albans.” Perhaps the Gentleman did not travel much in the country, and so speaks only as to his own knowledge; but other people, who have seen more, are of opinion and think that Ribe, Aarhus, Aalborg, Odense, &c. besides several cities in Norway and other of the King’s dominions, as Bergen, Trundhiem, Christiania, Gluckstadt, Flensborg, Hadersleben, &c. if they were allotted an impartial surveyor, would appear to be much better than our town of St. Albans, which at present stands so fair in this Author’s good graces.

But, though Copenhagen is the best place belonging to the King of Denmark; “yet it is no ancient city, nor a very large “one; it comes nearest to Bristol, and increases in buildings “daily,” p. 12. Copenhagen was founded in the twelfth century, anno 1168; and as to its largeness, it may most properly be compared with Dublin, which is the second city in the King of England’s dominions. He is *just* to the port of Copenhagen, in about a page and an half, p. 13, 14; but it is, that he may find the greater faults with the other things that belong to it.

“The air,” he says, “is bad, by reason of the stink of the channels which are cut through the city,” p. 14. In the 8th page, he attributes the badness of the air “to the fogs and low situation;” but here to the channels, which are indeed rather an ornament and convenience to it than otherwise. Heretofore there might some small offence proceed from them, when they were in the nature of Fleet-ditch in London: but now, by the order of his present Majesty, they are cut quite through the city, the sea going in on one side, and out at the other; and are so very large, that a stout man of war may ride cross the city and round the castle.

“The works of the town,” he says, “are only of earth and fods,” p. 14. So much the better; stone walls, we know, are of no great strength against cannons: and when he tells us, “these works are in tolerable good repair;” he should in common justice have said something of the extraordinary good order they are kept in. “The buildings,” as he describes them, “are generally mean being cage-work;” not considering that cage-work is more in esteem there than plaister, as being more convenient and durable, and contrived generally so as to appear very handsome; not but that there are abundance of very good brick houses that are built by the citizens, as well as others more magnificent belonging to the nobility.

“As to the public buildings, King Christian the Fourth did more than all the succeeding princes” (says our Author). It is very strange, that King Christian should do more “than all his successors put together,” p. 15; which *all* (after this bluster), if added together, will amount to but *two only*, the father and son; of which the son has augmented the beauty of the city very considerably. The great objection against them all is, that they have “forgot or delayed the building of a palace, the King’s house of residence being the worst in the world,” p. 15. As for new buildings, the present King is content with the garden-house of Rosenborg, and with the delicious castle of Fredericksburg, till his affairs will permit him to finish a palace, that has been long designed to be built by the seaside, near this King’s new market. In the mean time the old castle is acceptable enough to their Majesties, by reason of that affection which is naturally borne to things that have been possessed and are left by several
ancestors.

ancestors. This castle is venerable for its antiquity, part of it having been the first house that was built in Copenhagen. Certainly this palace ought to be preserved, at least to shew the citizens how much they are at present advanced, and to what height his Majesty has raised them; since subjects now are not satisfied with such buildings and apartments as are thought sufficient for the royal family, and were so for their predecessors. This signal instance should have been brought by our Author, to prove the pride of absolute monarchs, and the misery of the Danish nation; viz. in his own words, p. 15, "That several of the noblemen, as his high excellency Guldenlew, the great admiral Juel, with others, are infinitely better lodged than the whole royal family."

Had the Author been resolved to do Denmark the least favour or justice, he might as well have spoken a little of the curiosities that were in Copenhagen, as, without reason, have spent his time in blaming its air, buildings, and fortifications. For certainly in Copenhagen a traveller may find many things worth his observation; the Exchange is none of the worst; the arsenal one of the best in Europe; the canals very fine; the round steeple of Trinity church, built according to the directions of Christian Longomontan, the disciple of Tycho Brahe, and professor of mathematicks in Copenhagen, is without question a most noble piece of curiosity, the like being not to be found elsewhere; for a coach and horses may ascend to the top, and yet the height of it comes very near that of the Monument of London. This steeple consists of arches; and over the church, which is all of brick without any timber, is the library of the University as large as the church. But as for the University of Copenhagen, he never so much as takes any notice of it. Here politicks and satire took up his time so much, that he had no leisure for the Belles Lettres, "or genteeler learning," p. 255. So he gives us no account of the King's library, nor of several others belonging to the University; which, as they are very considerable for other things, so particularly for the preservation of the antiquities of those Northern nations: nor of the admirable Museum, belonging to the King of Denmark, which is in the same palace with the royal library, full of all the most exquisite rarities of art and nature; and which, after the death of the learned Olaus

Wormius, was considerably augmented with his famous closet, one of the best in the world for the many curious antiquities it contained, which he bequeathed to the King, and of which the learned world has a printed account in a large folio.

He speaks nothing of the beauty, largeness, and magnificence, of the churches both within and without; nor of the extraordinary height of the two steeples belonging to the churches of the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas; nor of the fine organs, especially that of St. Mary's church, lately made by a Danish master; which, for its prodigious largeness, is scarcely to be paralleled any where amongst the Protestants. Neither doth this curious Gentleman mention the King's new market, a very fine and large place, in the middle of which stands the King's statue on horseback, very artificially cast in lead; and is surrounded with the finest palaces of the town, as Count Guldenlew's, Admiral Juel's, &c. But most of all this Author's negligence is to be admired, that he disdains to speak a word of the great new work on Christian's-haven; which is a new city by itself, lying on the island of Amack, but joined to Copenhagen. This new work is a vast fortification opposite to the citadel of Copenhagen, which is situated near the custom-house and entrance of the harbour; so that on both sides these two fortresses command both the port and almost all the city round about, and render the fortifications of the city itself so much the stronger, and in a manner impregnable. And in this new work of Christian's-haven, two things are very considerable: first, that all the ground contained in the fort is, by incredible labour and industry, made out of the midst of the water; and then, that this ground is of so considerable an extent, that a town may be built upon it: and it is said that his Danish Majesty hath appointed this to be the dwelling-place of the Jews of Copenhagen.

By these instances (which yet are not all that are worth a man's curiosity in Copenhagen) the impartial Reader may guess, how unjust the Author has been in his description of this antient and royal city, and how far he may rely upon the rest of his relations of these two Northern kingdoms and annexed provinces: seeing, when he pretends to describe Copenhagen, he mentions nothing of Christian's-haven; just as if he should speak of London, and forget Southwark.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Sound.

THE Author says, p. 11, "The two principal things in Sea-land, and indeed of all Denmark, are the city of Copenhagen, and the passage of the Sound." Having done with the city, he comes to this streight, which lies between the firm land of Schone and the island of Sealand.

The King of Denmark claims a toll of all ships that pass through it, except the Swedes, who are exempted from it by treaty; yet this writer, according to the freedom which men of his principle generally use with the crowned heads, pretends to question the King of Denmark's title, p. 21, and says it is "slightly grounded."

I shall not enter upon matters of state, nor pretend to give a particular account of the original Records that contain the immemorial continuance and succession of claims which the Kings of Denmark have made to this sea, and right of toll in it. The King who pretends to and enjoys this toll is able enough to give reasons for it, and to maintain his pretensions. However, I cannot but remark, that there are several passages in this chapter, which I cannot well imagine to have fallen from the pen of an Englishman: as, where he says, "The title to the toll is precarious," p. 23, "as founded upon a breach of trust, it being at first only to provide lights for securing the passage of merchants through the Sound. That it is a kind of servile acknowledgment of the King's sovereignty of those seas," p. 22. "That the title is not so firm as the Danes could wish for; not being masters of the land on both sides, they may have the right, but not the power to assert it," p. 17. For an Englishman knows, that although our King is bound to protect all strangers that pass through his Narrow seas, yet his sovereignty does not arise from thence; but, because of his sovereignty, he is therefore bound to protect them: so the King of Denmark; being lord of the passage of the Sound, ought to provide for the safety of such as should sail thorough it; his dominion not being founded on that, but that being a necessary consequence of his dominion. In the second place, acknowledgement has always been reckoned by Englishmen to become due, in recompence of such protection and conveniences afforded;

and therefore our Kings demanded contribution for the ships that defended the fishing of foreigners. And where is the servility any more in paying a toll to the King of Denmark for passing his Sound, than in that acknowledgment which all ships, according to the law made by King John to maintain it, must make to those of the King of England, by striking a flag when they sail through his Narrow seas, or in the paying anchorage, or for the lights to the Trinity-house?

Thirdly, as to the case between Sweden and Denmark (though Denmark has no reason to imagine there will be such a pretension from thence, or to fear it if there should), it is the same with France and the English. For King Edgar and King Cnut, who were as great defenders of the sovereignty as any of our princes, had their dominions many ages before any of their successors laid claim to France. And the French, notwithstanding all their power, have not pretended to the sovereignty of the Narrow seas because they live upon one of the coasts of them.

The Author would insinuate further, "That the English pay this toll, through the connivance of King James the First, in prejudice of his own subjects, who favoured the Danes upon account of his marriage to a daughter of that crown," p. 22. If King James favoured them upon his alliance to that crown, our Author should on the same account, if he had any manners, have done so too; but, setting aside this reflection on the memory of King James, it is certain, the Kings of England have successively paid this toll in the Sound, and have been so wise and just, not to encroach so far upon a sovereign head as to prescribe him laws what to do in such seas as are his unquestionable dominions.

In the other particulars of the account which he gives us concerning the Sound, he seems not to know what kind of passage it is. He says, p. 22, "It is very well known, that the passage of the Sound is not the only one to the Baltick sea, there being two others, called the greater and lesser Belts; and that of the greater Belt so commodious and large, that, during the late wars, the whole Dutch fleet chose to pass through it, and continue in it for four or five months together." Whereas, in truth, the Sound is the only convenient one; the lesser Belt is unpassable for large ships; and the greater is so full of rocks and sands, that nothing can be more dangerous. To be sure, had the Dutch found it practicable to use this passage, which it so large that it cannot possibly

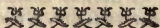
possibly be stopt with a fortress, they had done it long ago. It is very true, the Dutch fleet did continue there four or five months together, but it was much against their will: for, coming into it, they were so endangered by rocks and storms, that they were forced to make so very slow a motion, in order to their escape with greater safety; neither does the Author tell us what loss and damage they received, which indeed was very considerable.

In the same page we are likewise informed, “that the breadth of the Sound, in the narrowest part, is four English miles over, and every where of a sufficient depth, so that the King of Denmark’s castles could not command the channel when he was master of both sides; much less now he has but one.” This Gentleman is resolved never to measure right; for, if he had, he would have learnt that the Sound is but three English miles broad, when it is truly measured; besides, had he asked any skipper that usually passes that way, he would have found that it is so far from being every where of a sufficient depth, that on the side of Sweden the water is so shallow, that it is impossible for a ship to pass, unless it be within the reach of the castle of Croneborg.

What he delivers in the next place, p. 23, “that the Spaniards may with as much right lay claim to the Streights of Gibraltar^m; or the Swede, who is now master of one of the coasts of the Sound, demand another toll of ships,” is altogether ridiculous. The solemn treaties of Roschild and Lund contain formal protestations against any pretensions to a double toll; and by them the King of Sweden hath been obliged to demolish the castle and fortifications of Helsingborg: besides, it would be impossible for the Swede effectually to demand it at Helsingborg, since that town is so situated, that no ship is able to come within half a league of it. Neither is it easy for any one to imagine how he will make out his comparison between the Sound and the Streights of Gibraltar; since the former, being commanded by a strong castle, is very narrow, and passable only within the reach of cannon-shot; whereas the latter is so broad, that several ships may pass in the middle of it, without fear of cannon from either side, and not commanded by any castles belonging either to the Moors or Spaniards.

He concludes in a great huff, p. 26, “that all other petty princes and states pay this toll without murmur whilst we and
^m Which, it may be needless to observe, at that time belonged to Spain,
 “ the

“the Hollanders do it; but the Danes must have a care lest we “grow angry.” So it seems France and Poland, whose ships pass this Sound, are petty princes and states; and the Author may think he has authority enough to make a crowned head stand in awe of him: but, to shew him the contrary, I shall proceed with my former freedom to consider his next chapter, *though he himself should chance to grow angry.*



C H A P. IV.

Of the other Islands, and Jutland.

IT would be tedious to the Reader to recount all the contradictions that are to be met with in the description of these countries. I shall begin with Sealand; where he says, “there are “few meadows,” and yet “no want of good hay,” p. 8; that “the air is but indifferent,” and yet “there are no colds,” p. 8, 9; that “the cattle are lean,” p. 10, “because their feeding, “when in the house, is partly hay, and partly brewers grains and “roots,” &c. p. 10. So having given an account of the miserable state of Sealand, he proceeds to set forth that of the other islands in this manner.

“Funen has plenty of corn, hogs, woods,” &c. p. 27; and yet has nothing “for the merchants to export but a few horses.”

As it is certain and notorious, that abundance of corn, bacon, and other commodities, are sent from thence to Holland, Norway, and other places; so it is as certain likewise, that these things must go to Holland or Norway from this island by land-carriage, unless the Author will give them leave to be exported. What does he think of the apples, which yearly are the sole lading of several ships?

Their cyder, and their mead (which is the best in the world), is likewise carried abroad; and more especially a sort of wheat, called in Danish *bogbuede*, in Latin *fagopyrus* (of which the Danes make their so-much-talked of *grout*, that resembles the English hasty-pudding), which is in very great plenty throughout the whole island. Now it cannot possibly enter into my head, that the people who have corn, bacon, apples, cyder, mead, and *bog-*
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bude, to be exported, should have "only a few horses to be exported."

"The chief town is Odensee, formerly a flourishing little city, but now fallen to decay," p. 27. It is not so flourishing now, as when the king resided there; but it is in a very good condition still. He takes no notice of several other good towns that are in the island, as Nyborg, Assens, Middlefart, &c. which are all bigger than St. Albans; I suppose that he might make his Reader imagine that nothing but villages were to be found in Denmark, except those few towns he mentions.

This island is obliged to him for declaring the true name of its *stifts-ampt-mænd*, or chief governor, which is Mr. Winterfelt; whereas in Laaland and Jutland he is mistaken in the names, and has given us none of those in Sealand: whether for want of information, or other more prevailing reasons, he can best inform his Reader.

Laaland has met with better quarter from this Author than other places, and is commended for its plenty of corn; however, he has forgotten the great abundance of extraordinary good pease which grow there, and for which it is famous. I hope it is no reflection upon Copenhagen, that it is "supplied with wheat from thence," p. 28; and it may the rather be excused, because the Dutch, in the midst of their plenty and liberty, come hither for it too. So London is at present supplied from the North, as Rome heretofore from Sicily and Ægypt. He is mistaken in the governor's name, which is Mr. Gioc; and this small error is the more to be taken notice of, because he says he resided a long time in England in a public character, and so probably his name might be the better known there.

Nor is he less mistaken in the name of another person, which, if he were any ways inquisitive, he might have known; for he places Monsieur Edmund Scheel among the *stifts-ampt-mænd* of Jutland; this, I suppose, he does only to let his countrymen see that they need not go so far as Denmark to find out his errors: for Monsieur Scheel, a person considerable for his parts, learning, and the characters he has sustained at home and in foreign courts, besides that of England where he lately resided as envoy extraordinary, in that very memorial he gave in to the King of England about this Author's "Account," has written his Christian name Magnus, as he doth without any abbreviation upon all occasions.

After

After having named three *flits-ampts-mend* in Jutland, an *&c.* comes in for the fourth; which the Author, upon the least inquiry, might have found to be Mr. Mejererone, now the King of Denmark's envoy at the French court. The four principal governments which he has not mentioned are called Ribe, Aarhus, Wiborg, and Aalborg.

It contradicts itself, that "Jutland wants good sea-ports towards "the ocean," p. 30; and "yet the Hollanders transport a great "quantity of cows and oxen from thence;" which makes it unnecessary to repeat the sea-towns mentioned else-where, besides which there are several others by the Western islands, Silt, Lister, and Romme, near the cities of Ribe and Tender, where the Hollanders snacks and oxen-ships (as they call them) enter without difficulty, and so export those commodities, which, though the Writer calls "lean cows and oxen," p. 30, yet they are not so in themselves, but only in regard of that extraordinary bigness they grow to when they come into the Dutch soil. Otherwise the cattle of Jutland, as of most part of Denmark, is not of the smallest, though it be left in its own country; nor need the inhabitants of this plentiful province desire any fatter beef than what they can have when they please at home.

Jutland also "affords corn, *not only* in sufficient quantity for "the use of its own people," p. 30; but in such a superabundance, that all the want of Norway in this case is yearly supplied in the greatest measure from this province: neither can this chuse but be a vast quantity, considering the many populous sea-towns lying all along upon the shores of that country; nay, in the very year 1692, in which this Author pretends to describe this country, there was such a crop reaped there, that, upon frequent desires, it was allowed to the Hollanders, by the King of Denmark, to export no less than thirty thousand barrels of corn (each Danish barrel containing four bushels), besides what privately under this permission was stolen out, and besides the necessary provisions for Norway. Let now the Reader judge, if no more can be said of Jutland's fertility, than that it affords "corn in sufficient quantity for the use of its own people."

But what is the reason of this plenty and fertility? does it proceed from the goodness of the soil, and the industry of the inhabitants? or from any natural, moral, or else some political account?

account? Why indeed the reason that they have so many oxen to sell is, "because the King keeps his court far from thence: *Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine,*" says our Author, p. 30. Corn grows in any country, where the farmer is careful, and the soil agreeable: and where the meadows produce good grass, there will be good cattle; and this Nature will do, whether it be in monarchies or commonwealths.

I have reserved the island of Amack, or Amager in Danish, to conclude with, because it is the Author's darling.

"This island," as he says, p. 28, 29, "is very plentiful, and therefore commonly called the kitchen-garden of Copenhagen;" but the inhabitants are *not* all of them North Hollanders. There is but one parish and village, which is called "the Hollanders village;" the rest of the people, although they wear a singular dress, to shew their primitive extraction, yet in every thing else they are Danes; so that "their not mixing with that nation," p. 29, is a meer fable. But hence arises a great consternation in our Author; it is to be feared that "these North Hollanders by degrees will be treated like the other subjects of Denmark." My heart really bleeds, upon the contemplation of these poor North Hollanders; for they seem perfectly to have been trepanned, or, as one may say, kidnapt into Denmark. I warrant they had letter upon letter, invitation upon invitation, before they could leave their own country; and especially considering what they were, persons of fashion and credit, gardeners and dairy-maids!

Now it is very hard, that a free people, bred in a commonwealth, as North Holland is, where they lie under no impositions, have no excises, should be betrayed into a country, where there is a necessity of their paying taxes; that *they* should be reduced to *powdered beef* and *stubble geese*, like *common Danes*; whereas, at home, in the seat of liberty, they could have regaled themselves and families with a *red-berring* one day, *white-berring* another, and *pickled-berring* a third, for greater change and delicacy!

C H A P. V.

Of the rest of the King of Denmark's Countries.

THE Author, to keep up an old custom, begins this chapter with a contradiction; for in Sleswick "the commodities for exportation are in no great quantity;" and yet "it affords corn, cattle, horses, and wood, to its neighbours, over and above a sufficient store of each for its own inhabitants."

When it is his business to describe Denmark, he runs out into an elaborate description of the duke of Holstein's residence, and sets forth "the romantic situation of his castle," p. 32.

It is easy to guess at the Author's reasons for this digression. Gottorp is a very pleasant and magnificent seat; yet in most things it is not to be compared with Fredericksburg, belonging to the King of Denmark. The palace at Gottorp may have run to some decay, by the late troubles in Holstein; but those who told the Author "that the improvements were pulled down and destroyed by order," p. 33, were so far from being "sensible informers," that they were false and malicious. Neither does it stand with common sense, that so generous a prince as the King of Denmark would give so ungentle an order, or revenge himself upon the palace and gardens, for any injury which the master of them might have done him. And, after all, the Author "found a library," p. 33, at Gottorp; which was more than he was pleased to do at Copenhagen.

The Holsteiners are so much this Gentleman's friends, that he strains a point in their favour, p. 36, viz. "The Danes, when they travel abroad, chuse to call themselves Holsteiners, thinking it more honourable to be born in the confines of the empire than otherwise." Which, in a rational man's opinion, is more honourable, to be born in a little dutchy (as Holstein is), and a sief holden of the empire, or to be a native of one of the most antient kingdoms in Europe? I cannot tell what they may do in other countries; but, when they travel in England and converse among us, they never dissemble their country, nor desire to be called any otherwise than Danes.

It is to be noted (according to this Account, p. 37), "as a great natural defect, that the King of Denmark has not in all
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“his dominions one navigable river for vessels of considerable burden.” This can be no great defect in such islands as Denmark consists of, where there is no need of great rivers (as the Thames, Humber, &c.), the sea being on all sides so near at hand. Yet these islands have some rivers proportionable enough to their bigness, as that in Sealand, which goes up to a town called Næsted, and has formerly been capable of carrying brave ships. As for the continent, Jutland has some pretty good rivers; but the defect which it may have in that particular is abundantly recompensed by Nature, with many friths which the sea forms, and run far into the country; as that called Limefiord by Aalborg, which passes almost into the middle of Jutland.

What he says, p. 37, concerning the design of the Danes, during this war, to establish the toll at Gluckstadt, is rather one of his own suppositions, than any of their real intentions.

He complains, p. 38, of the “horses of Oldenburg, as not able to last long, or endure hard labour:” whereas those that have skill in horses account them the strongest of any; and they are at present generally sought after, to recruit the cavalry in Flanders.

Come we now to the kingdom of Norway, “of which” (if we may believe this Author, p. 38.) “little can be said:” or rather in truth he should have turned it thus, “of Norway I can say but little.” For certainly it is more his ignorance of the country, than any want of curiosities in it: else those gentlemen who have written whole volumes concerning the description of it have made a great bustle about nothing.

The history of it has been set forth by several eminent authors, as Albertus Crantzius and Snorre Sturleson (whose great history of the succession and actions of the Norway kings, written first in Islandish, and then translated into Danish and Swedish, in a large quarto or folio, is as valuable a piece of history as any where is to be found). Saxo-Grammaticus, in his Danish Chronicle, has a great deal about Norway; as likewise Jonas Arngrim, in his “Crymogæa Islandica;” and lately one Jonas Ramus, a Clergyman in Norway, has put forth an ingenious tract called “Norwega Antiqua et Ethnica.” Peter Claußon (another of the same nation and profession) has written a great book of the description of that country in the Danish tongue; who is followed by several others, that have discoursed of that either in general, or some of

its provinces in particular; and most of the Danish and Swedish Historians fill up half their books with the transactions and affairs of Norway. Olaus Wormius, in his "Fasti Danici, Literatura Runica, et Monumenta Danica," has given us as many rarities and antiquities of Norway, as he has done of Denmark: This may shew the Reader, that, contrary to what this Author affirms, there is enough to be said of this vast kingdom. Now to shew you, in that "little he has said of Norway," how much a man may be mistaken. This Author has an excellent faculty at crowding a great many errors in a small compass; as for example, "It is subdivided into four *sifsts-ampts*, p. 38, 39, or principal governments, viz. Dronthem, Bergen, Christiania, and "Larwick. The governors are young Guldenlew, Mr. Stockfleet, &c." So it seems, that Norway has of late lost a *sifst-ampt*, or chief government; for the North themselves hitherto reckoned that they had five. The names of them are Christiania or Aggerhus, Christiansand, Bergen, Traudhiem, and Wardohus. As for Larwick, which this Author would advance to be a *sifst-ampt*, it is but a county, belonging separately to his high excellency Count Guldenlew, as Tonsborg is another belonging to Count Wedel. Truly, Sir, had we taken your account, Larwick had been but a small equivalent for Wardohus; and Christiansand, though a principal government, had been quite embezzled. *Little* indeed may come *to be said* of a country, when a Writer will omit such principal parts of it. When he comes to tell us who are governors, he names Guldenlew and Mr. Stockfleet, and passes the rest over with an *&c.* Sir, I should be glad to know from you a little more of this matter, and whether this *&c.* be put here for brevity sake, and to spare your readers trouble, or else to palliate your own ignorance? Had you named us *four* governors, we should have been content; and not have been so hard as to put you upon assigning a *sifst-ampt* to the fifth province of Norway, which never came to your knowledge.

"It is a very barren country, &c." p. 36. Norway hath never pretended to be so fertile in corn as Denmark. However, it is observable, that, where the ground is fit to be tilled, it yields a greater crop than the soil of the richest countries. If Norway had not so many sea towns, very populous and full of strangers, the corn growing there would be sufficient, without any importation, to
feed

feed its own inhabitants. There are some districts up in Norway, as Hedemarken, Todten, Gulbrandsdalen, &c. which, in fertility and good corn, do not yield to any part of Denmark.

It will not be improper here to remark two things, which the Author formerly advanced, in which Norway clearly convinces him to the contrary.

First, p. 11, "There is no other town or city belonging to the King of Denmark much better than St. Albans:" whereas Norway is full of large sea towns, such as Bergen, Christiania, Christiansand, Trundhiem, Frederickstadt, &c.

Secondly, he says, p. 34, "That the King of Denmark has not in all his dominions one navigable river for vessels." But in Norway are abundance of great rivers and friths, running far into the country, as Sarp near Frederickstadt, Dramen, Lomen, Aggers-elf near Christiania, Nideren near Trundhiem, &c. One might have expected likewise that one who treated of Norway should have spoken something of the great fresh lakes which are every where in that country: one of which, called Mios, is a league broad, and near twenty leagues long. And I should the rather have supposed that he would have mentioned these lakes, because he seems so mightily taken with the places where the countrymen have good store of "fresh fish;" for in these lakes there is such abundance and variety of fish, that the peasants thereabout have enough, not only to salt, dry, and carry down to the sea-side, but likewise to eat fresh as often as they have a mind to it.

He acknowledges there are silver mines in Norway; but he "questions whether they turn to account," p. 39. He needed not to have questioned it; for he might have been informed, that they have of late years yielded more than they did formerly, or could reasonably be expected from them. There is indeed, p. 36, an account of the commodities from thence exported; but he forgets the many furs and skins of mart, zobel, beavers, &c. which are sent from thence yearly: as also copper, and small nuts, of which quantities are shipt out, and come towards the end of winter to London.

The beginning of the character he gives the Norsh is very well; viz. p. 39, "that they are a hardy, laborious, and honest sort of people; and that they are esteemed by others." Yet for all this, alas! they must have their share of scandal too, and the vice of

self-conceitedness is laid to their charge. “*Vincit amor patriæ,*” it seems, may be their motto, as well as our Author’s; for he says, p. 39, “they esteem themselves much superior to the Danes, “whom they call upbraidingly Jutes.” Were such a thing true, as that the Norsh thought themselves superior to the Danes, it might be apt to breed some discord between them. On the contrary, no two sister nations can love one another better. Any one who has been in those Northern countries knows that none is welcomer in Denmark than a Norshman, or in Norway than a Dane: so that it is wonderful to see two nations not conquered one by the other, but joined by the marriage of princes, agree so very well together. As for the name of Jutes, it was given the Danes as a spiteful nick-name by the Swedes in the late wars; but the Norsh no more call them *upbraidingly* Jutes, than the Danes when they travel call themselves Holsteiners.

“Island and Feroe,” he says, p. 39, “are miserable islands; for “corn will not grow there.” Misery consists not always in want of corn; since they may have that from other places. Fish and cattle they enjoy in great abundance. We see Holland, which is a most happy place in this Author’s opinion, fetches all three of them from Denmark and Norway. The inhabitants of these islands are great players at chess; and our Author says, p. 40, “it would be worth some curious man’s enquiry, how such a “studious and difficult game should get thus far Northward, and “become so generally used.” So we see that, notwithstanding their misery, they have leisure for their sports, and have parts able to surmount that game, which, being difficult, must require study. This curious man need not make very far inquiry about their playing at chess. It is easily known, from reading any of the Northern antiquities (which the Islandish Writers abound with, and have them the most plain, simple, and uncorrupted), that *chess* has been the proper game of the three Northern nations. Now the Islanders having preserved the old tongue and manners of the Goths, old Danes, Norsh, and Swedes, it is no wonder they have also kept this Gothic game; and their ease and plenty, together with the great colds in the winter, inclining them to sedentary lives, make them follow it, and from thence arrive to its perfection. There is a book printed in English, translated from the Danish, written by a Minister, concerning the islands of Feroe, which

which gives a very particular description of the wonders of Nature in those Northern regions.

“As to the King’s factories in both Guinea and the Indies, they are esteemed of little consideration,” p. 40; yet “he has seen several East India ships return home well laden: but whether the lading were the lawful product of trade, or acquired by other means, will in time be worth the enquiry of those kingdoms and states whose interest it is to preserve in the Indians and Persians a good opinion of the honesty and fair-dealing of the Europeans.” I shall always think that such factories as send home ships well laden are both of good worth and consideration; and I am the more confirmed in these thoughts, “because,” p. 40, “most of the men of quality are the adventurers.”

The looking into the fairness of their traffick and merchandize may be let alone at present; for I suppose no European Prince will concern himself with the affairs of Asia, so far as to engage in a war with the King of Denmark for that reason. At least, Holland and England will very probably remain quiet, till the world has in some measure forgotten the proceedings with the Mogul and the King of Bantamⁿ.

At last, the Author comes to sum up what he has been saying concerning the King of Denmark’s dominions; and, from what he himself has delivered, p. 41, infers, “that they produce but a moderate plenty of necessaries for the inhabitants, but few commodities for the merchants.” However, from the very worst representation that can be given it, which is this Author’s, I shall endeavour, from his own words, to evince the quite contrary.

For “Sealand,” p. 7, 8, “has rye in good quantity, no want of good hay, the grass short and sweet; great number of fine lakes sufficiently stored with fish; beech-wood, which is excellent for the pureness of its firing; much game, as stags, wild-boars, roebucks, &c. The face of the land is pleasant, in many places abounding with little hills, woods, and lakes, in a very agreeable diversity. For sea-ports, it hath that most excellent one belonging to Copenhagen, &c. one of the best in the world, &c.—Funen,” p. 27, “is second to Sealand, whether its bigness

ⁿ The facts here alluded to, so little to the honour of this country and of Holland, may be seen at large in Ralph’s History of England, vol. ii. p. 316. and Modern Universal History, vol. x.

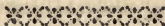
“ or goodness of its soil be considered: it has plenty of corn, hogs, lakes, and woods, and some few horses to be exported by the merchants.—Laaland,” p. 28, “ is a small but plentiful island, producing all sorts of corn in abundance, and particularly wheat, wherewith it supplies Copenhagen and all other parts of Denmark. The Hollanders buy yearly and ship off great quantities of corn from thence. Falstria, Langland, and Mune, are fertile islands; the two first export yearly some corn. Arroe and Alsen abound in anniseeds, which are much used, &c.—Bornholm, Samsoe,” p. 28, “ with the other islands, nourish cattle, and afford corn for the use of the inhabitants. Amack deserves to be particularly remembered: this little island is, as it were, the kitchen-garden of Copenhagen, and supplies its markets plentifully with all sorts of roots and herbs, besides butter, milk, great quantities of corn, and some hay.—Jutland,” p. 29, “ is a plentiful country, abounding more especially in cattle. The Hollanders transport yearly great quantities of corn and oxen from thence, to their more fertile soil; where in a short time they grow prodigiously. The horses and swine of this country are excellent, and in great numbers: it affords corn in sufficient quantity for the use of its own people.

“ The duchy of Sleswick,” p. 32, “ is in general a very good country; its convenient situation between two seas, the Ocean and the Baltick, rendering it considerable for trade: some corn, cattle, horses, and wood for firing, it affords to its neighbours, over and above a sufficient store of each for its own inhabitants.—Holstein,” p. 35, “ is a country very fruitful and pleasant, excellently well seated for trade, between two seas.—Stormar and Ditmarsh,” p. 38, “ are for the most part low and rich countries; their soil being fat, and in most places resembling Holland, as well in its fertility as manner of improvement.—Oldenburg,” p. 37, “ abounds in cattle, and has a good breed of horses, which are much sought after for coaches.—Delmenhorst,” p. 30, “ is pretty well wooded.

“ Norway,” p. 39, “ has silver mines; the commodities which it yields, fit for exportation, are timber of all kinds especially fir, stockfish, masts for ships, and iron; of these it has a tolerable store.—Island and Ferøe,” p. 39, “ have good stocks of cattle.—The King of Denmark,” p. 37, “ hath factories in Guinea, and the East and West Indies. Several East India ships return home

“to Copenhagen well laden with the merchandize of those countries.”

Thus I have given you, from the Author's own words, the qualities of all the King of Denmark's dominions, only abating the malicious insinuations of the describer; and leave the indifferent Reader to judge, which deserves to be thought most contemptible of, such a Country, or such a Writer!



CHAP. VI.

Of their Form of Government.

WE come now to his darling topick, which is that about government: in the very beginning of which Chapter, he shews himself very ungrateful, in reflecting upon the Northern countries; “to whose ancient inhabitants,” he says, p. 42, “we are so much indebted, as to owe the original of parliaments.”

The constitution of a government by a parliament is a signal blessing; but for the most part, those who make the greatest bluster with it are men who would leave out the principal part of it, and commit the greatest errors about it.

The word *Parliament* * is very equivocal, and consequently there must be several differences as to the original of it in divers Countries. It is very probable, that the original of parliaments in general is not so much owing to any particular nation, as to nature itself. And for the due and firm constitution of the government, as I take that to be by King, lords, and commons; I look no further than the body natural, viz. that of man, the most divine part of the creation: and there I find the head dignified with exceeding power, command, and honour; there are other members, which, being most useful to the principal part, are exalted to a particular preference; and a third sort, inferior and less useful, which, through their weakness, &c. seem liable to contempt and neglect, and consequently to grievances; so it is but meet for them to have recourse to their superiors, to set forth their wants, and likewise to declare their willingness, so far as in them lies, to contribute towards the support of the whole; and it

* See above, p. 14.

seems not unreasonable that it should be thus in the state, since we find St. Paul, to the Corinthians, most admirably describing it to be so in the church; where, having first made Christ the head, and secondly constituted apostles, prophets, and teachers; he yet farther, in the third place, makes every particular Christian come in for a share as a member, "That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it: or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it P."

To take the word Parliament in this sense, it may agree to several nations; but else (as was before said) it is very equivocal, and differs according to the several countries it is found in; so that, when the Author joins the Parliaments of Poland and Great Britain together, the Reader must not imagine that there is any likeness or resemblance between them; for there the King has so little power, the cities scarce any, and that of the nobility is so exorbitant, that the greatest councils, upon the most pressing necessities for their safety against the Turks and Tartars, end in nothing, if one deputy shall think fit to make his protestation against it: this Parliament being no more like ours than the Venetian Senate. And yet he tells us with great pomp, p. 43, "that Poland alone has preserved its parliament:" whereas every one must acknowledge, it would be a happy country, if it had the opportunity to lose it ⁹.

"As for all other countries whatsoever, except that and our own," he tells us, "they have lost their parliaments within this last age." This cannot be true; for, though Denmark has lost its diet, yet Sweden retains it still; and such a one was summoned but the last year ^r. Spain and Portugal have the same sort of government they have had this several hundred years. How can he then say, "that all kingdoms in this last age have lost their parliaments?" Besides, as for Bohemia, Hungary, and the rest of the Emperor's hereditary provinces, although the government is

^P 1 Cor. xii. 25, 26.

⁹ These remarks, if applied to the modern state of that fertile but depopulated kingdom, appear prophetic.

^r In 1693. The constitution of Sweden has lately been very materially changed.

pretty absolute on the prince's side, yet there is every where a convocation of the states of the country. But I would fain know of him, whether he believes there is such a place as Ratisbon, and whether he thinks the Germans send their deputies thither for nothing. England had indeed been happy, if this Gentleman's opinion had been true, that its parliaments had met with no interruption in this last age. But, whatever his thoughts may be, our parliament was properly lost for several years together; from before the death of King Charles the First, till the restoration of his son; for it is impossible in nature to have that assembly in its true perfection, without a King in his full prerogative and splendour.

Denmark has some years since, upon very important considerations, laid aside the assembly of the states, and given their King a greater extent of power, in that particular, than his predecessors formerly enjoyed: not but that the King did before enjoy very signal prerogatives; and throughout all the Northern Histories, it is easy to shew, that strict obedience, and an entire submission to their Prince, hath been reigning there from immemorial times; nor hath it ever so much as been known what a republick was. There has indeed a controversy been started by Historians, whether in remote ages the kingdom of Denmark has been hereditary or elective. There are weighty reasons for the inheritance, at least if custom and prescription be such; seeing successors of the royal family have come always to the crown: insomuch that, if we look back as far as Saxo's fabulous times, we shall always find the son succeeding his father; or, if the son has been wanting, another of the same race has been made King. Upon the death of a Prince, the estates constantly met together; but it was with their voices to confirm the next heir, and not to elect another, of any other family whatsoever: for there cannot be one instance given through all the Danish History, where the royal family was excluded, and a private man, though endowed with ever so many excellent qualities, exalted to the throne. The example of Hiarne, recorded by Saxo, does not argue; for, those times being fabulous, the story cannot be much relied on; and it is likewise to be observed, that it was even then supposed, that the prince and heir was killed in Russia. Besides, it is more improbable, because they say he was made King for his poetry; poets being persons that seldom arrive at such riches and preferments. It is not to be denied but that the Danes sometimes may have renounced their allegiance to

their King, or rebelled against him : but those instances are extremely few, in comparison of such as may be found in the English or other Histories. When these facts have been committed, they have been so far from being justified afterwards, that the Danes have ever looked upon them as their greatest misfortunes. And nothing can more evidently demonstrate to an Englishman that faith which the Danes naturally bear to their prince, than the hatred they have expressed against the villainous act of the Regicides, who committed the horrid murder of King Charles the First. The book called "England's Black Tribunal," being translated into their tongue, has, by several editions, given them such a sufficient account of it, as to make them universally detest it. In the alliance between the two crowns, February 13, 1660, it was agreed, in the 5th article, that if any of those Regicides were found either in Denmark or Norway, they should presently be delivered up to the King of England. Nay, if a Dane would pretend to fix any crime upon the English, it is this, "You have killed your King." And as all nations have some word or other of reproach, their highest passion can give an Englishman no worse than that of *Rump*.

But to come yet nigher to our Author : let us consider what a rebellious sort of people he would make the Danes ; and, in order to this, let us wait upon one of his Danish Kings, from the election to the scaffold. It seems, when a former prince was murdered, "a King was presently chosen by the people of all sorts ; even the boors had their voices," p. 43. "They were to elect such a person, as to them appeared personable, valiant, affable, &c. and adorned with all other virtues." A very peculiar method ! The boors undoubtedly were made judges of his civility and breeding ; and the citizens wives were brought in, to consider his person : as to his inward qualifications, it was impossible for the mob to look into them on the sudden ; and if the former were admitted, these were thrown into the bargain. "Regard was generally had to the family of the preceding Kings ; and sometimes they pleased to chuse the eldest son, because the greatness of his paternal estate might enable him in some degree to support his office." So that, if the father died in debt, the son was sure to be disinherited ; but, if he had kept his estate together, then the young man might possibly get into the throne, and, having a tolerable fortune of his own, with that, together with
some

some few perquisites of the crown, he might pay his tradesmen; and, as this Author says of the King, p. 46, "might live, like one of our modern noblemen, upon the revenues of his own estate."

After the good-fortune of his promotion, if they found themselves mistaken in their choice, "and that they had advanced a cruel, vicious, tyrannical, covetous, or wasteful person; they frequently deposed him, oftentimes banished, sometimes destroyed him; and this either formally, by making him answer before the representative body of the people; or if, by ill practices, levying of soldiers, or contracting of alliances to support himself in opposition to the peoples rights, he was grown too powerful to be legally contended with, they dispatched him, without any more ceremony, the best way they could," p. 44, 45. We see here that there were five crimes, for which the Kings of Denmark, by this Author's laws, were to stand corrected. *Deposing* being but a slight punishment, that was made use of frequently; therefore we will suppose ten or a dozen gone that way. *Banishment* he puts in the next degree, and that he says they were sentenced to oftentimes; from whence we may rationally conclude, the banished will amount to very near the forementioned number; "the more incorrigible were sometimes destroyed." There are five or six sent that way, I warrant you; others were either formally executed by the sentence of a high court of justice, "or dispatched, without any more ceremony, the best way," for endeavouring to secure themselves against the insults of their own subjects. A very moderate computation! And here how few kings are left to end their days in peace! One would think an election would not be much contended for, where a crown is tendered upon such ticklish conditions. Yet he tells us, p. 45, "they always elected a better man in his room; sometimes the next of kin, sometimes the valiant man that had exposed himself so far as to undertake the expulsion or the killing of the tyrant; at other times a private person of good reputation, who possibly least dreamt of such an advancement." I suppose the next of kin were seldom so desperate as to venture; and therefore they oftener threw their voices away upon some private person, who, according to this Author's description, might possibly be some honest drunken sleepy fellow, that had a crown dropt into his mouth as he lay yawning. But generally the murderer was like-
wise

wife the thief, and the villain who had dispatched his prince succeeded him; hence there arose a well-ordered government, and all men became ambitious of imitating their new King; the meanest subjects duly weighing the faults of their superiors in their own breasts (the proper tribunal), the servant soon stabs his *cruel* master, the tenant shoots his *wasteful* lord, and the son poisons his *covetous* old father, that, having so done, they may by the common law and justice of the kingdom succeed in their respective inheritances.

Having done with that government, the loss of which he so much complains of; we enter upon his account of the present state; and find him telling us, p. 46, 47, "that, about thirty-two years ago, at one instant, the face of affairs was changed; so that the Kings have ever since been absolute and arbitrary, not the least remnant of liberty remaining to the subject; the first and principal article in the Danish law being, that the King has the privilege reserved to himself to explain the law, nay to alter and change it as he shall find good. The consequences of this are, excessive taxes in times of peace, little regard being had to the occasion of them; poverty in the gentry, misery in the peasants, and partiality in the distribution of justice."

The occasion of the change of government shall be declared in the next paragraph; in the mean time, any one that knows Denmark must confess, that the King is absolute, but no farther so than a Christian King of our own Protestant religion may be; wherefore, amongst other of the obligations which he lies under, are the Holy Scriptures, and the Confession of Augsborg, as is declared in the beginning of the Danish law. As for that law which the Author delivers, it is declaratory of the King's authority; and, since it is necessary that a legislative power should be lodged somewhere, shews that it is placed in him. Pursuant to this, the present King has compiled a book of Laws, the Character of which is given by our Author, p. 232, 233, "That, for justice, brevity, and perspicuity, they exceed all in the world: that they are grounded upon equity, and are all contained in one quarto volume^s, written in the language of the country, which so much plainness, that no man who can write and read, is so ignorant,

^s Possibly the ground-work of the concise Frederician code, so celebrated in modern times.

“but he may presently understand his own case, and plead it too, “if he pleases, without the assistance of counsel or attorney.” Being thus constituted, they are so agreeable and adapted to the Danish nation, that they continue still the same, the King having never yet changed nor altered, much less explained, any part to the prejudice of any particular person whatsoever; the execution of them throughout the whole kingdom is with great equality and more eminently in the high-court of justice in Copenhagen, where the King himself is president, and sits frequently; where causes are often decided in favour of the meanest peasant, against the greatest favourites, who, for wrongs done, have been condemned to vast mulcts and penalties, as might be shewn by several instances, if it were needful or proper to insert them.

By this law every man possesses his own real or personal estate, without the least encroachment from the King. It is true that the subject pays taxes, but they are such only as necessity requires; for, Denmark being surrounded with many potent neighbours who are all in arms, it must, for its own preservation, support a fleet and army, unless it could persuade them to disband their forces.

The taxes, being for the common good, are laid equally upon all; and the King's moderation in his expences, both as to himself and the royal family, being so conspicuous, the subjects have the greater satisfaction to see what they contribute laid out only for their own preservation. Notwithstanding these taxes, the people live in plenty, wanting nothing either for convenience or pleasure.

All this they enjoy, although the government is indeed absolute; and they with all willingness and due obedience submit themselves to this government, because they are sufficiently satisfied that this absolute power was not given to his Majesty of Denmark till the necessity for it was unavoidable. The nobility was that part of the Danish constitution which first broke in upon the symmetry of the whole: in several ages, and by insensible degrees, they encroached upon the king's prerogative, but all along made larger progresses towards the enslaving of the commonalty; insomuch that all burthens and public taxes were imposed upon them alone. After the war with Sweden, the commons found themselves unable longer to live under such oppressions.

oppressions. They had bravely defended their country with the hazard of their lives, and would have done so with their fortunes if they had had any remaining; but these were wholly swallowed up by the nobility, who yet would contribute nothing toward the maintaining of a just war against a foreign enemy and invader. Denmark being upon the brink of ruin; the commons in these circumstances, as the weaker and more oppressed part, fly to their head for succour. Neither the King alone, nor the commons alone, nor both King and commons jointly, could control the nobility so far, as to make them pay taxes; therefore it was necessary that all three should consent to a new government: so the commons proposed it to the lords, and both lords and commons offer the King to make him absolute; which offer if he had not accepted of, neither himself nor the commons could have supported the state. Supplies were of necessity to be raised; the commonalty could not raise them without assistance; and there was no other way but this, to make the nobility in some equal measure bear their proportion.

After this alteration in the government, the present Author would make us believe that strange miseries happened; and, as a very astonishing one, says, p. 47, "That the value of estates in most parts of the kingdom is fallen three fourths." It is true, the value of estates did fall; but nothing near the proportion he speaks of. The true reason was, the want of money in the commonalty, which had been exhausted by the war: for the commons, if they had had wherewithal, would have been glad to buy estates; which they were not permitted to do before this alteration.

Then it must be considered, that before this the price of estates was extravagant, and far beyond the intrinsic value, for then none but a nobleman could purchase lands; and if, by a mortgage or any other occasion, lands happened to fall into the hands of other people, they were obliged to proffer them to sale to the nobility, who still purchased in envy and emulation of one another. Trade and commerce being little at that time, the money was chiefly laid out in the buying of estates; but, since the nobles have not the former eagerness for buying up the land as before, and shipping is so much increased of late, every one rather chuses to employ his money that way, than to purchase
lands

lands at such an extravagant rate as formerly. And yet it is to be observed, according to the relation of a gentleman lately arrived out of Denmark, the value of land is now raised considerably; so that, in a little time, it will come to be very near equal to what it has been heretofore. For it is to be considered that, Denmark and Norway being since the alteration become masters of a very great trade, their money must increase likewise. In other reigns, it was a rarity to see some few ships, from Copenhagen and the most considerable cities, go to France and Spain. Now Copenhagen alone has above fifty large ships, that trade to France, &c.; and other parts have them proportionably, besides those bound for Spain, the Streights, Guinea, and the East and West-Indies, &c. And in Norway little sea towns, that formerly had either one, or two, or no ships at all, but sold their timber to the English and Dutch that came thither (the Dutch especially, being as it were their factors, carrying out their goods, and supplying them with all sorts of French and Spanish wares, which the inhabitants never fetched themselves)—these very towns, which are not one or two, but most sea-towns in Norway, being in abundance all along the sea-coasts, now send yearly, to England, France, and Holland, 10, 20, 30, or 40 large fly-boats and ships of other building, as can be testified by the merchants who trade to those parts. With this increase of trade, the reputation of Denmark, in respect of its interest with other princes of Europe, is of late years so far advanced, as that crown never yet made so great a figure in Christendom as it does at present; not even in the time of Canutus, when we may suppose it in its greatest prosperity.

So that, although an absolute monarchy, with the additional term of arbitrary power, sounds harsher in the ears of an Englishman than most other nations; his present Majesty of Denmark shews us that, even in an absolute monarchy, which in its own nature may be under several inconveniences in respect of the people, and temptations of eneroachment as to the prince; yet a wise and good King may so order his conduct, as to make his subjects easy, and himself glorious.

To conclude; I take this Chapter to be our Author's masterpiece, particularly his character of an old Danish King; it gives us the very image of the describer's own thoughts and inclinations;

nations; and shews us what sort of King a commonwealth's-man may perhaps condescend to make, and then how many particular ways and means he can find out to dispatch him.



C H A P. VII.

The Manner how the Kingdom of Denmark became Hereditary and Absolute.

“IT is astonishing to consider,” says our Author, p. 48, “how a free and rich people (for so the Danes were formerly) should be persuaded entirely to part with their liberties.” It is more astonishing to me, to see a man write without considering: for in what did “these former riches consist?” In a “country exhausted by the taxes,” p. 50; or in the “want of money to discharge the arrears due to the army,” p. 49; or in the “miseries attending the war, which had in a manner ruined the people?” In the next place, where was their freedom? when the senator Otto Craeg tells the commons, p. 52, they “were no other than slaves;” and these very words made them deliberate how to get rid of such an odious name and character? Lastly, how were they persuaded “entirely to part with their liberty,” when they gave this power to the King, on express purpose to gain it? “For the King, upon the first news of the resolution of the commons, did often openly promise that he would, in gratitude and recompence, declare them all *free*, as soon as it lay in his power, by the gift they were about to make him,” p. 58. Which promise he performed accordingly; and put the commons of Denmark into the state they are at present, which is far from slavery.

It will be necessary here to shew how all sorts of people stood in Denmark before the alteration; which will easily make the true grounds of it appear, and how it came to be effected with a consent so general, and with so little trouble. The King had his power curbed by the nobility to a great measure, p. 54; and as the Kings found these encroachments, they did endeavour to prevent them: to secure their prerogative therefore (in the latter ages) they often made their sons be elected and sworn (whence

(whence they were in Danish called *bylde*) during their life-time, and have homage done them both in Denmark and Norway. Frederick the Third, who was King at this conjuncture, had done so by Prince Christian the present King; he was then admired by his subjects for his conduct and valour, p. 54. "They had seen him with an admirable patience and constancy bear all his calamities: he had often exposed his person for the sake of his subjects; and they therefore thought they could never do enough to shew their gratitude towards him."

The nobility were very numerous and diffusive: all the lands were in their sole possession; their estates resembled our manors, of which they were lords, and took their titles from thence; and as they increased in wealth, and consequently in lands, they had additional titles from thence; and these accrued either by purchase (which, as has been said before, none could make but themselves); or else by marriages, which they always contracted among one another; for, when a nobleman died, his pedigree was declared to the eighth generation upwards, both by father's and mother's side, to have been noble. To them alone belonged (and does belong) the honour of a coat of arms. Others may make use of cyphers and rebuses for distinction: but they do not deliver them down to posterity; nor have they any farther mark of honour in them. Among these nobles there were twenty four persons of the chiefest families, who composed a standing council, called *rigens raad*, or the council of the kingdom; upon the death of one of these counsellors, his successor had a patent from the King to constitute him so; but he was always approved, if not first chosen, by the nobility. This council had by degrees so enlarged their authority, as to interpose in most of the great affairs of the kingdom. The entire body of the nobility, though standing possessed of the lands, looked upon it, p. 50, as their "ancient prerogative, to pay nothing by way of taxes."

The rest of the people of Denmark consisted of the clergy, the burghers or citizens, and the peasants, who were either in the nature of our farmers, or else the *vornede*, who resembled the villeins in our law, who were so called *quasi villa adscripti*, and so were these.

When

When a diet was to meet (which it did not do of course, or at certain periods, but upon great occasions (as doing homage, or to raise taxes), the nobility assembled together in the palace, and sat by themselves; the King seldom coming among them; all were summoned, and as many appeared as could with their convenience. The clergy and burghers, who were sent in proportion by their several districts, sat in the Brewers-hall; and the peasants, who had their representatives likewise, sat in some other hall belonging to some of the companies. When the nobility had deliberated concerning a tax, the clergy, burghers, and peasants, were sent for to their house, to hear what was to be laid upon them, and not to debate the matter, or to pretend to control them.

This was the condition of the kingdom and the Danish parliament, when the war with Sweden was ended: and it was this prerogative of the nobility, that made the other states so willing to devolve a power upon the king, by which he could make the nobility pay their proportion, and either clergyman or citizen be able to purchase; and so the peasant, who before could be a farmer only, if he could get money, might have licence to become a free-holder: and the soldier was no doubt likewise desirous of it, because he had a prospect then that his arrears should be paid him. There being so many advantages likely to accrue to the King, whom they acknowledged by his valour and conduct to deserve them; to the whole royal family, and indeed to all the rest of the Danes; and no damage to any, except that which the nobles received in contributing towards the defence of the lands which they possessed: it is not so very strange, that an alteration should be perfected in so few days, all things not only being ripe for, but necessity itself requiring it.

The speech of Otto Craeg made the commons eager to obtain this alteration, especially being headed by their President Nanfon, who was a man of vigour. The superintendant Swan was at the head of the clergy, who were no less desirous of it. Scheffede was prime minister, and concurred to their intention; and several of the nobles themselves, who were in court, were not displeas'd at it; and the queen, being a woman of spirit, thought herself bound to her posterity to advance it. It was night when the commons parted from the nobles; and that gave them time the better to concert their resolutions. The next day they come again, and

declare

declare their fixt design, concerning the power which they intended to place in his Majesty's hands. The nobility desired farther time to deliberate concerning it, and to do it with greater caution and solemnity. Finding a delay in the nobles, and that they would not come up to equal resolutions with them, the commons go the same morning to the palace; where, being introduced to the King, they tender him an hereditary and sovereign dominion. His Majesty in answer tells them of the necessity there was for the concurrence of the nobility, before he should be willing to accept the power they designed him; assuring them of his protection, and ease of grievances; dismissing them with advice to continue their sessions till matters might be brought to greater perfection. The same day Monsieur Scheel, a senator, was to be buried with much magnificence, and all the nobility invited to a great entertainment, as is usual there upon such occasions: in the mean time the gates of the city were shut; and whereas two or three of the nobility had gone out the night before, there was no opportunity left for the rest to do so. Now, being all together upon the forementioned occasion, they began to deliberate more seriously upon the affair, and to send news to the court of their compliance with the commons, and their unanimous agreement with them. Three days were thought requisite for an intermediate space before the consummation of this ceremony, which was performed before the castle; the King and royal family being placed there in chairs of state, and receiving the homage of all the senators, nobility, clergy, and commons. So an affair of this consequence was dispatched in four days, without any farther trouble than what has been related.

We must allow our Author, in his description of these proceedings, to use some of his own ornaments; and particularly that instance of his subtle genius to dive into the hearts of men, which he gives us, when he speaks, p. 56, about the King's seeming reluctance, "through doubt of the event, or sense of the dishonesty, and crime of the action:" whereas the King was all along willing to receive the proffer of the commons; but declared that he thought "the concurrence of the nobility necessary," that the consent might be universal. He is very particular as to the sums of money that were given, p. 74. "Hannibal Schested had two hundred thousand crowns: Swan the Bishop had 30,000, and was

“made Archbishop: the President Nanfon had 20,000.” One might think he spoke with the person that paid the bills. This is a piece of secret history, which may perhaps be revealed to foreigners: but the Danes know nothing of it; and it seems to carry the less probability, because Swan has an Archbishoprick, and ten thousand crowns more than Nanfon, who appears all along to have done equal service.

Besides these three persons, “the Clergy, who always make “sure bargains, were the only gainers in this point,” p. 74. What! are their revenues enlarged? do they pay no taxes? or what have they gained more than the burghers? Why even just nothing. There are no taxes raised upon the burghers, to which the clergy must not pay their quota: and whereas, before the alteration, the clergyman paid, as it were, no taxes, through the connivance of the nobility; now he bears an equal share with any man of any other profession in the kingdom.

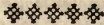
“The commons have since experienced, that the little finger of “an absolute prince can be heavier than the loins of many nobles. “All the citizens of Copenhagen have by it obtained the insignificant privilege of wearing swords; so that, at this day, not “a cobbler or barber stirs abroad without a tilter by his side, let his “purse be never so empty.”

The privilege of wearing swords was granted to the citizens before the change, to encourage them to a vigorous defence of Copenhagen; “when the clergy not only adhered to the interest “of their country, but the burghers likewise valiantly defended it,” p. 51. Before that time none might wear them but the nobility, unless they were soldiers; and among them, a commoner very seldom rose higher than a captain. In the public calamity of their country, all appeared zealous for the defence of it. The works of the town were very indifferent; but they were raised in a little time by an incredible industry: not only the students of the university appeared in arms, and the citizens of condition did the same; but the meanest of the people got scythes and such other instruments, to perform what was in their power upon an occasion so absolutely necessary. Indeed all sorts of people shewed that they were worthy to wear their swords, since they knew so well how to use them. After the alteration, the privileges granted them were far from insignificant. Several, for the benefit of trade, &c. are fixt by a large charter. Besides the liberty to purchase
any

any lands and lordships whatsoever, they are to be burthened with no impositions but such as the nobles bear; and they have the comfort (which before they had not) to see their children admitted to all honours and public offices, to employments civil and military (according as they can deserve them), equally as well as the sons of the greatest noblemen.

Barbers indeed in Copenhagen wear swords, as being principal citizens; for they are at the same time very skilful and able surgeons, and much respected: but coblers stalking about with tilters by their sides are as rare a sight there as roasted *green geese*.

When he told me, p. 74, "the people had the glory of forging their own chains," I took the Danes to be like his savage Indians, and that they wore fetters and manacles instead of other ornaments; and that all their cold iron was rather employed that way than for tilters: for, by the bye, a *sword* is the foolishlest instrument in the world for a prince to put into the hands of such subjects as he designs to make absolute slaves of.



CHAP. VIII.

The Conditions, Customs, and Temper of the People.

THIS Author's Book would be very plausible, if people would oblige themselves, in the reading of one Chapter, not to remember what may have been said in another. His Eighth Chapter is long enough of itself to require the same dispensation; for the Reader will be at a loss if he makes use of his memory, or if he hopes that the *middle* should be agreeable to the *beginning*, or the *end* not be contradictory to them both. As he has hitherto been partial in representing the nature and change of the Danish government, so it is no wonder if he be mistaken in the consequences he draws from thence: "The condition, customs, and temper of the people," he says, "are influenced by the change of government." Whatever alteration they may have undergone, and whatever new fashions may by chance or humour be brought in, as to cloaths; yet still the customs of the people are the same they were before: and more

especially they continue their free and merry way of living, their hospitality, and their liberality; all which the Danes and Norsh have always looked upon as their native qualities. These make "the condition of people of all ranks" to be very far from *deplorable*, p. 75: for they know, that what he calls "habitual slavery" in them is nothing but a due obedience to supreme powers, not interrupted by any mutiny or rebellion; his "laziness" is in them a contented mind; his "setting them beyond hopes and fears" is their desiring not to intrench upon the power lodged in their prince, nor creating needless jealousies and mistrusts lest he should misuse it. For it seems, the Danes have "mortified ambition, emulation, and other troublesome qualities," which freedom begets, and which ill men may indeed admire, but common morality has set forth to them as vices. From hence they are so far from finding themselves in "a sickly constitution," that, on the contrary, they have evident and sensible proofs that their obedience makes the constitution of the Danish government strong and vigorous; so as to be able to sling off any ill humours that may be bred within, and to repulse any accident from without. Nay they see it not only healthy, but gay and florid, proceeding on from strength to strength, in greater degrees than it has done heretofore, either within their own memories, or the records of their ancestors.

And indeed the government is so much the stronger, because the nobility now assist to the support of it. It is easily imagined, that the nobles were in some greater power before the alteration; and that they were richer when they contributed nothing toward the public necessities of their country than they are now. However, they are not "diminished, or grown so low," p. 75, as this Author would insinuate; that proportion which they pay to the public taxes for the defence of their country being only deducted, they are in the same condition which they were before, and live very great and nobly on their seats in the country; some of which, though ancient, are very decent, others built after the modern architecture; and, delighting much in gardens, they have them in very good perfection. This is the utmost difference, that whereas formerly only the ancient families called *adelen*, or the nobility, lived so (because then no others could purchase lands); now any one of the burgher-state, that can

afford

afford it, may keep his country-seat, as well as the nobility. What the nobles pay in taxes is sufficiently re-paid to several of them by the profitable employments which they have in civil affairs; and as they help towards the maintaining of an army, so they reap the benefit by being general officers in it.

These employments our Author complains of, as "grievous" to the nobility, p. 78; whereas it seems much better than living at home uselessly, and it is no more than what they do in all other courts of Europe. Nor are the "civil employments" so few, or of so *small value*, as he would make them, *ibid.* For, though the long robe has not places of such vast profit as elsewhere; yet, every government having its governor and several officers subordinate, there must be abundance of employments, whose names cannot be so properly expressed in the English.

Our Author has given us a very odd account of the nobility; and begins with affirming, that "ancient riches and valour were the only titles to nobility formerly in this country:" whereas not he that was rich and valiant became consequently a nobleman; but the nobility, having got all the lands to themselves, might easily engross the reputation of being brave and valiant. "None," it seems, "then took their degree or patents of honour from the King." First, if this were true, it could not be for the good of any nation, where, for an encouragement to glorious actions, there ought to be some fountain of honour, and the King certainly is the most proper one; but, in the second place, it is evident that, as well before as after the alteration, the King of Denmark made noblemen, and gave patents of honour to them that deserved well, as can be proved by several instances, in the reign of Christian IV and Frederick III (before he was made absolute), as also in the reigns of their predecessors. "Of late years," he says, p. 79, "some few titles of Baron and Count, and nothing higher, have been given to favourites, who enjoy not the same privileges by those titles which our Lords in England do, but content themselves with a few airy insignificant ones." There is no necessity that the nobility of another country should in every thing correspond with that of England. Suppose the Counts and Barons in Denmark not to be just the same, are therefore their titles airy and insignificant? On the quite contrary, there is no country in Europe where Counts and Barons have such a pre-eminence as in Denmark. When the King there

gives "shield and helm" (as they call it), that is, a nobleman's coat of arms, with a patent of nobility to him; then such a man is distinguished from the common people (and such as these only were made before the alteration, except some few Counts created by foreign Monarchs and Princes). But, when the King will promote a person to a degree higher, which he never does unless he has so great an estate as is requisite to sustain his honour and character, then he gives the titles of Baron or Count (for Dukes there are none in Denmark, that title of old time properly belonging to the royal family). This honour is far greater, and has several privileges above the rest of the nobility, as may be seen in the Danish law. And yet it may more easily be imagined that that honour must be so much the greater, by reason of the rarity of such titles, there not being twenty in the whole kingdom.

The following paragraph, that "it is only this kind of nobility with titles that have liberty to make a will, and thereby to dispose of any estate otherwise than as the law has determined, unless such will, in the life of the testator, be approved of and signed by the King," has more than one mistake in it; for not only this kind, but all the nobility, have titles from the lands they possess and are lords of: these indeed have the highest titles of Count and Baron; and then not only they, but all the nobility, nay any one among the clergy and citizens, can make a will; only it is to be observed, that it is required to every such testament, from whomsoever it comes, that it be approved and signed by the King, to render it of force and valid, so as that the estate may go otherwise than the law hath determined. Neither is it true, p. 81, "that the King assumes to himself the power of disposing all heirs and heiresses of any consideration." Sometimes the King may interpose his mediation for the marriage of some of the chief nobility; but it is far from being his usual custom; much less does he assume any power to constrain them, or cause them who do not hearken to his recommendations to lie under the pain of his displeasure, which is too weighty to be borne," p. 81.

The nobility being forced to endure the forementioned hardships; "it is possible," p. 81, "most of the present possessors would quit the country the first opportunity, if there were not such a severe law against alienation, that, if any one would transport himself,

“himself, the third part of his purchase-money shall accrue to the King.” This law is not more hard than it is necessary; for, there being “no buying and selling of land in Denmark,” p. 80, the King’s third part of purchase-money will amount to but little; and where “estates are a charge,” and the proprietors can scarce obtain the favour of the King to be “so gracious as to take their estates from them,” p. 77, one would fancy that all landed men would lay the key under the door, and be scampering. Now, to mend their condition, and to get free from monarchy and taxes; I would advise them to hasten to a neighbouring commonwealth, the seat of liberty, where the chief minister of their state has not above five hundred pounds salary, and where their excise and taxes laid on their estates amount often to above their yearly income. After all, the law, as it is reasonable to prevent the subject from following his own humour to the prejudice of his native country, so it does require but a sixth part to the King, and a tenth part to the magistrate of the place; both which, according to my arithmetick, will not amount to a third part, as is reported by our Author with his geometrical exactness.

Land being worth nothing, how must the Counts and Barons do to live? Why, “they are obliged by all manner of ways to keep in with the court; as indeed all are, who have a mind to live, and eat bread,” p. 79. What then will become of the rest of the *adelen*, or native gentry? Why, “military employments are mightily coveted by them,” p. 81; “almost as much as the civil, and for the same reason that the priest’s office was among the Jews, viz. that they may eat a piece of bread.” Bread! bread! is the universal cry; and our Author seems to have borrowed his images, not from the Jews, but rather from the Ægyptians, calling upon Pharoah towards the latter end of the seven years of famine.

Want of bread is not the only misfortune; it comes attended with other miseries: for he says, that “the King of Denmark,” p. 81, “imitates the French practice in this particular, to make the gentry poor, and render traffick unprofitable and dishonourable. Men of birth must live; and one half of the nation, by giving themselves up to slavery, will contribute their assistance afterwards to put chains upon the

“other. Yet in Denmark natives are considered less than “strangers; and all sorts of places civil and military are filled “more by foreigners than gentlemen of the country, &c.” Were all these things true, they would be very great evidences of a corrupt government: but I shall beg leave to set the Reader right as to these particulars, and the condition of the people. The plenty of the whole country has been sufficiently described; and in the midst of this, the chief nobility enjoy the governments of the several provinces, and the chief offices of the kingdom; the rest of the *adelen*, or nobility, have subordinate governments and offices, some at court, and others in the countries where they have their seats of residence: some Germans are in the court; but the native subjects are in greater number, as the Counts Guldenlew, Rantzow, Reventlaw, Ahlesfelt, Friis; Baron Juel; Messieurs Hogh, Moth, Harboe, Scholler, Luxdorf, and a great many more, too numerous to be here inserted: and natives likewise are in all the governments throughout the provinces. “Men of birth” breed up their sons to several employments; some to civil affairs, some to studies, and some to trade and traffick, which is as profitable and honourable there as merchants can desire: it has all encouragement from the King, and many of the highest rank interest themselves in it continually. Some gentlemen apply themselves to arms, and endeavour that way to be serviceable to their country; there are abundance of these in commission. Foreigners there are indeed in some number; but it must be considered, that they came thither in the late war, and took pay in Denmark, either of their own account, or hired out by their princes. These are by birth Germans, French, Scots, Poles, Prussians, &c. Yet these very men are naturalized, married, and settled in Denmark; and so are now to be accounted Danes. The inhabitants do not “pay the soldiers;” nor are “constantly plagued with insolent inmates, who lord it where “they dwell,” p. 87. For the Dane, lying under a necessity from his neighbourhood to maintain an army at home, does it after the manner that may be most easy to the people, which is this: Soldiers are scattered universally all round about the countries. The officers there often take houses, and live with their families, their companies quartering round about them. The soldiers are quartered upon the inhabitants, who are to find them bed, salt, and

and *sour*, or vinegar. If the landlord find his foldiers disagreeable, he may hire them a lodging elsewhere for a small matter: but the foldier is generally desirous to oblige his landlord; which he does by several offices and labours that he performs for him, and is rewarded with his diet, which otherwise he must find for himself; so that by that means he may have the King's pay clear for his pocket. And hence it proceeds, that a foldier comes to be as desirous in a family as a servant; their arrears are small, the pay being as constant, and the discipline as exact and severe, as any where can be, both for officers and soldiers. Strangers find themselves so well entertained in Denmark and Norway, that it is no wonder they flock thither: great civility, courtesies, and hospitality, are shewn towards them; which if our Author will have to be a fault, is certainly one upon the best-natured side. A man would hardly have thought to have found any people in Denmark (according to our Author's description) that could get out of it; much less to have found strangers there; and that persons, "honoured by being born within the confines of the Empire," or "Poles who have parliaments," would venture thither. But I see at last that there is in Denmark something worth getting, and leaving one's own country to become master of.

Come we now to an unexpected paragraph, and which is beyond all credibility. By what has been said before, one would have thought the Danes went on foot at least, if they did not go bare-foot; when, on a sudden, p. 83, he acquaints us with their "expensiveness in retinue, cloaths, &c." and of "a prodigality, not only in the gentry, whose condition is more easy, but likewise in the burgher and peasant." It is not denied but that the Danes have always been, and are now inclined to a handsome way of living, and to the free enjoyment of what they are lawfully possessed of. It is the generosities, p. 83, of their temper and nature, which makes them do it; and not our Author's reasons, viz. "the difficulty of procuring a comfortable subsistence, and the little security of enjoying what shall be acquired through industry; the sense that they live but from hand to mouth making them live to-day, as the poet advises, not knowing but what they now have, may be taken from them to-morrow," They all *know* the quite contrary; and whatever

whatever the poet may say, they are certain the law says, that what they have *to-day*, shall not be taken from them *to-morrow*. As for their spending prodigally because they come by it difficultly; Sancho may teach him, that it is rather, "Lightly come, lightly go;" and I look upon this proverb to be as true as his assertion. Being in a merry humour, and in with his poets, he gives us a bit of Latin,

"Torva læna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,
"Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella."

The admirable application, and the use he makes of his learning (according to his modern education) as he gives it us, is this, p. 84. "That the gentleman spends presently on himself and pleasures all that he can get, for fear his money be taken from him by taxes, before he has eaten or drunk for it: the peasant, as soon as he gets a rixdollar, lays it out in brandy, lest his landlord should hear of it, and take it from him." Thus, "Torva læna," &c.

—Little could Virgil imagine, when he wrote those verses, that future ages would make "florentem cytisum" be by interpretation a brandy-bottle. Pray, Sir, to be serious, do they in Denmark first search for what a man has by him, and then lay on the taxes? or rather, as in other countries, proportion them to his way of living, his estate and employments? What man in England would set up his coach, to avoid the poll tax, by which he is to pay five pounds more for keeping it?

Come we now to the merchant and burgher. These, he says, p. 84, "subsist purely upon credit, there being very few that can be called rich, or worth a hundred thousand rixdollars." Less than a hundred thousand rixdollars by far will give a man the denomination of rich in Denmark or Norway; an estate of 10, 30, or 50 thousand will be called riches there; for we must consider, that a rixdollar will go every way farther there than a pound sterling in England. Nay the Author himself, p. 103, when he is to shew the grievousness of the taxes, affirms, that "a rixdollar, considering the scarcity of money, ought to be computed to go farther than three crowns with us." And at this rate there are not so few wealthy men as he would

† Virgil, *Æn.* i. 78.

persuade us. That trade should be managed by credit, is no wonder: it is punctual payment which maintains it; and their credit would soon be lost, if they had not wherewithal to pay their creditors.

“Manufactures have been endeavoured to be introduced, not so much with a design of benefiting the publick,” p. 85, “as private courtiers and great men, who were the undertakers; but in a little time all came to nothing. For it is a sure rule, Trade will not be forced, where property is not secured.” It is apparent from hence, that trade is not “discouraged” in Denmark, p. 81; since, by his confession, “courtiers and great men become undertakers.” It is certain likewise that in Denmark several manufactures have succeeded very well; others indeed have not had the same success, not because property is not secured, but because they can have the same commodities cheaper from Holland, Spain, or England. The making of *silks* and *drinking-glasses* (though these latter are made in great perfection in Copenhagen) did not turn to account, because there is no property in Denmark! Should you, Sir, take Sir Robert Vyner’s^a house in Lombard-street, and set up a manufacture for the making tacks at three-pence a thousand, and employ about five hundred smiths to furnish London with them; and this project should not turn to one *per cent.*; must I attribute this misfortune to the unsecurity of the English property; or rather to the discretion of the ironmongers, who can have them about eleven pence in the shilling cheaper if they will but send to Birmingham? Who thinks his estate to have the worse title, because he sees people daily sling their money away in stock-jobbing?

There being an impossibility of having manufactures introduced into Denmark, p. 84; “trading towns and villages are all fallen to decay. Kiøge, once a flourishing little sea-port town; lent Christian IV two hundred thousand rixdollars; but, upon occasion of the late poll tax, the collectors were forced to tax feather-beds, brass, pewter, &c. in lieu of money.” That trading towns shall fall to decay, when trade increases, will scarce gain belief. As for Kiøge; that town lying within four leagues of Copenhagen, it is no wonder if the trade is in some measure de-

^a A principal goldsmith of those days. He was lord mayor in 1675:

creased, since the flourishing of that city. We have this Author's word for it, that Kiorge raised so much money "in four and "twenty hours time." Two hundred thousand rixdollars (and those, as was said before, equivalent to English pounds) is a good round sum for a little town to lend in a day's time; they lent so much then, that it is no great wonder they have no great plenty, now. However, it was no such great sight in England (even in King Charles's time) to see a sturdy fray between a collector of chimney-money and an old woman, in behalf of her porridge pot and battered pewter dish, the only ornament of her cupboard. And yet, I suppose, the Author does not take us to have been undone then; though such an instance (which he has *only by bear-say*, p. 85.) is enough to prove all the Danes to be ruined.

"If this be the case of the gentleman and burgher, what can "be expected to be that of the poor peasant?" p. 86. What indeed! "In Sealand they are all as absolute slaves as the Negroes "are in Barbadoes; but with this difference, that their fare is not "so good." For indeed every body knows that there is great care taken by the planter, throughout all the West-Indies, to provide dainties for their Negroes, which consist of—pork very seldom—and potatoes always. The Author is to be excused for his mistakes in this paragraph, because they cannot so easily be rectified without the Danish law, which I suppose he never consulted. It must be known that, from immemorial time, in Sealand, there has been a law about *vornede*, as they are called in Denmark, that is, vassals; the sum whereof is, that a boor born upon a landlord's land is obliged to stay there, and not to leave his service, except he is freed by his landlord. But first, what he says, "that neither they nor their posterity to all generations can "leave the land to which they belong," p. 86, is far from being true: for the landlord may make them free when he pleases, which is often practised; or they may obtain their freedom for a small sum of money, which is done commonly; or, if it happens that a vassal comes away, and stays ten years in a city, or twenty in the country any where, without his landlord's ground, he is free from his claim. Secondly, that "gentlemen count their "riches by their stocks of boors, as here with us by our stocks of "cattle," p. 86, is of the same stamp. As we say, such a gentle-

man has so many tenants, by which we mean so many farms; so throughout all Denmark they say, he has so many boors; not that he has so many *head^w of boors*, as we would say of cattle. Thirdly, "that, in case of purchase, they are sold as belonging to the freehold, just as timber-trees."—In England, when a manor is sold, all the services due to the manor are sold with it; and it is no otherwise in Denmark. Further the landlord cannot go; for the law says, the landlord may make his vassal free, but he must by no means sell him to another; if the vassal be sold, then he is free both from him that sold and bought him. Neither, fourthly, do "the boors, with all that belongs to them, appertain to the proprietor of the land:" for such a vassal owes nothing more to his landlord, than that he shall stay on his land, till his ground, and pay him his rent; which when it is done, reasonably the landlord can require nothing more of him; so that this law of vassals in Sealand was principally introduced, that the landlords might not want tenants. These vassals may be transplanted from one farm to another. The *vornede* are only in Sealand; and the King would have given them freedom there, since the alteration, but that he was shewn there would have been several inconveniences attending it. As to the condition of the country people throughout the rest of Denmark and Norway, it is just like that of the farmers in England, paying their rent and due to the landlord, or leaving his farm when they cannot agree together. They do indeed "quarter soldiers;" but it is in the manner before described. And they are "bound to furnish horses and waggons for the King's baggage and retinue when he travels." These are provided by an officer in the nature of our constable; who takes care that there shall be an equal share for every peasant throughout Sealand and other provinces where the King of Den-

^w This would be nearer the truth, if spoken of modern Russia. A nobleman of that great empire was mentioning one day in conversation, that he could have no idea of the grandeur of an English peer, if he had no slaves. "I," said he, with great enjoyment, "have two thousand slaves, whom I can scourge when I please."—When such an one wants to raise money, he sells a certain number of them to the government for soldiers or sailors, at as good a price as he can get; and sometimes brushes up the old ones to mix with the younger, in order to put them off like light coin.

mark travels; so that it does not come to the same boors turſ above once a year; for not only they that live near the road, but thoſe likewiſe who lie farther off, muſt attend in their order. This ſeemed to our Author to be “the greateſt hardſhip impoſed
“on theſe poor peaſants. He has ſeen them ſo beaten and abuſed
“by lacqueys, that it has often moved his pity and indignation
“to ſee it,” p. 90. Tender-hearted Gentleman! there was no provocation on the boors’ ſide, I warrant you! they are generally better bred than to give ill language! If you were ſo touched with this, how would your pity, Sir, have been moved, had you ſeen a Dane’s head broke in a violent paſſion, becauſe he could not let a draw-bridge down ſoon enough; or had you ſeen one of the King’s huntſmen cut over the pate by a footman? Men may talk of Barbadoes and Negroes; but the Danes are never uſed ſo much like ſlaves as when they meet with ſome fort of Envoys.

According to the account hitherto of people in all ſtations, one would imagine the beggars to be innumerable; but it ſeems you will ſcarce ſee a beggar in the ſtreets of Copenhagen, except before ſome burgher’s door, who that day gives alms to the poor of his pariſh: for all the poor people of a pariſh go about, one day to one, another to another citizen, who knows his day when he is to give them meat or money both for dinner and ſupper. If any other beggar is ſeen in the ſtreet, an officer carries him immediately to priſon or puniſhment.

After what has been ſaid concerning the ſtate of all ſorts of perſons, even to the meaneſt, who do not appear to want a comfortable ſubſiſtence; what man will not preſently agree with the Author, when he ſays, “Denmark at preſent is, but com-
“petently peopled,” p. 88; “vexation of ſpirit, ill diet, and
“poverty, being great obſtructions to procreation; and the pea-
“ſants, who before uſed to have a large piece of plate or two,
“gold rings, ſilver ſpoons, &c. not having them now, or indeed
“any other utenſil of value, unleſs it be feather-beds, whereof
“there are better and in greater plenty than in any place he ever
“ſaw.” I ſhould have imagined *feather-beds* to have been as pro-
lific a piece of furniture as *gold rings* and *ſilver porringers*.

However, the people have continued much about the ſame number for theſe two or three hundred years. As to the multitudes that have been there heretofore, this may be obſerved, that, ſince
from

from all the three Northern kingdoms, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the adjacent provinces near the Elbe and Weser, so many swarms went out so often to conquer and inhabit other more fertile and Southern countries, it is probable at last so great deductions might exhaust the number; as Saxo-Grammaticus, in his Eighth Book, in the Life of King Snio, says, "that, when the Lombards went out of Denmark, in the great famine and dearth that reigned then, the kingdom was so deserted, that great woods and forests grew up in many places where before had been fertile ground; and to this day, the signs of the plough are to be seen among the trees." Another great reason is attributed to the plague, called the *black death*, that ravaged all the Northern kingdoms in the year 1348; when so many died, that scarce the tenth man was left to till the ground.

Our Author gives another reason why they are not so numerous as formerly; for "discontent kills them;" and it is usual to have them die of a *stroke*, which is "an apoplexy proceeding from trouble of mind." The falling-sickness is more common in the Northern kingdoms than with us; but not to that degree that our Author talks of, p. 90. And their apoplexies are not half so fatal as they have been in England within these few years. It is scarce reconcilable, that people should die in such number for *discontent*, whom, in the beginning of the Chapter, he describes, p. 75, as taken up with a dull pleasure of being *careless* and *insensible*.

Let us proceed to the description of their diet, in which the Reader may expect exactness; seeing our Author all along seems to have been a good trencher-man. "Their tables are usually well furnished with dishes; yet he cannot commend their cheer," p. 92. Other Englishmen have mightily commended their cheer, and never complained of "the leanness of their meat." The truth is, the Danes like it the better for not being very fat; the greatest fault which they and other strangers find with the English meat is, that it is too fat, which disagrees with most of them. This may be one reason, and perhaps a better than that of "property not being secure," why they have not been over diligent to introduce "the fattening of tame fowl;" it being "an art not known to above two or three in Copenhagen." And yet fat capons were in Denmark and Norway long before any Englishman brought in the *cramming* manufacture, p. 92.

Beef

Beef and *veal*, p. 42, he allows them. "Whether mutton is "scarce, and seldom good;" not so scarce or bad, though not in such plenty or so fat as in England. *Wild ducks* taste as well as in England. *Plovers* they have, but do not care for: *snipes* and other sea-fowl in abundance through all Denmark. According to him here are "no wild pheasants, woodcocks, rabbits, or "fallow deer; red being the King's game, not to be bought for "money." What game is permitted by law to be sold in our English markets? *Wild pheasants* are not there as yet; but, the Prince Royal having a nursery of tame ones near Copenhagen, and they increasing prodigiously, it is thought they will soon grow wild and common. Their woodcocks, called *agerbous*, are most delicious in Denmark. They have all sorts of venison in plenty and perfection; nor is it kept so strictly for the King's own use, but that it is very often to be had among any people of fashion: for the King's huntsmen have great privileges in this case; and most of the nobility and gentry, having their game in the country, can communicate enough of all sorts to their friends. Rabbits the Danes have; but they do not care for them, they not being so good as in England. But hares are plenty, and the Author says *good*, p. 92; as likewise "their bacon excellent." As to their fish, I have spoken before. "Their butter is very "good; and they have melons, grapes, peaches, and all sorts of "sallads, in great perfection. However, in general, their way of "cookery would hardly be pleasing to an Englishman," p. 92, 93. The Danes generally roast and boil their meat more than the English. If you call theirs over-roasted, they would say yours was raw; but this might easily be adjusted. Their broths and soups are extraordinary; I fancy, together with them, a man might contrive a good dinner, and a desert out of what has been mentioned.

To consummate the entertainment. "Their liquors are "Rhenish wine, cherry-brandy, and all sorts of French wine," p. 93. "The fair sex do not refuse them;" in such a quantity as is agreeable to their health, and becoming their sex and modesty. "The men are fond of them," p. 93; more addicted to drinking perhaps than is necessary: but, for these twenty years last past, that humour has declined, and does in some measure continue to do so daily.

There

There are some few other customs of the Danish nation, which he represents after his fashion, and so concludes.

“ Their marriages are usually preceded by contracts,” p. 94 ; and there is some interval between that and the wedding, according to the conditions of the persons. What he says concerning “ three, four, or more years, before they proceed to a public wedding by the minister,” p. 94, is to introduce his following scandal upon the young people : “ that often the young couple grow better acquainted before such formalities are dispatched.” There are no such long intervals, or very seldom at least. Besides, there is such a strictness in Denmark about marrying, that no minister dare marry any that is not of his own parish, which prevents several inconveniences : and there can be no greater shame than it is in Denmark for a new-married woman to be brought to bed before her time.

If we will believe him, “ the gentry give portions with their daughters,” p. 94. I must confess, I had rather believe the Danes themselves ; who assure me, that nobody in Denmark gives any portion in money with his daughters, except the wedding-dinner, cloaths, and household-stuff. But, in requital for this, the daughters have a share of the estate when their parents die : for it is to be remarked, that every brother hath an equal share of the patrimony, the youngest as well as the eldest ; and each sister has half as much as any brother. When a parent would dispose of his estate otherwise by will, it must (as has been said before) be signed by the King in his life-time ; which, in truth, is no other, than that he must have a new law to disinherit any of his children.

“ Sumptuous burials and monuments,” he says, “ are much in request with the nobility,” p. 94. The King has some years since, by a particular law, retrenched much of the former luxury and magnificence of the great peoples burials ; so that they now are moderate, and yet very proper and decent. The common people are “ mean-spirited,” p. 94 ; yet, in the foregoing page, they were “ proud and vain ;” which two sorts of qualities seldom meet together. If they have any fault, it is a quite contrary one ; which is that of being too much inclined to fight upon the least word, and too slight provocations : besides, they must always be acknowledged to be desirous rather to confer than receive obligations, which “ a mean spirit” never does. The Swedes, who are

as brave a nation as any in the world, have sufficiently tried their courage; and in all their engagements that they have had in the present King and Queen of England's service, they have behaved themselves like men. The defence which the common people made for their country, and Amack in particular, deserves not only to be encouraged with privileges, but to have so excellent a Poem as that of "Amagria vindicata," written by Borrichius, to continue the memory of their valour down to posterity.

What tradesmen he may have met with, it is impossible to know, or what notion he may have of being cheated. But whereas he says, p. 95, the common people are "inclined to gross cheating;" they have the general reputation with other men of being fair dealers. First, "An old superstitious woman would not sell him any green geese." This silly story (as he relates it, p. 95, 96.) "gives him a more lively idea of the temper of the common people, than any description he could make;" and in mine it raises a much brighter image of the Author: especially when he proceeds to tell me, "that, in their markets, they will ask the same price for stinking meat as for fresh, for lean as for fat, if it be of a kind," p. 97. We will suppose the butchers so mad as to do so. But how came he to know this curiosity? did he cheapen lean meat and stinking meat? Some frugal people go towards the latter end of a market, to buy the refuse cheap: perhaps our Author did so too, and makes his complaint in print, because he was disappointed of a penny-worth.

Where he lays it down, "as a sure way not to obtain, to seem to value, and to ask importunately," p. 90; it is that way which I would advise no man to follow: for certainly the Danes are not such fools as to keep their wares, when they find the buyer so forward as to overvalue them.

"No lodgings in Copenhagen for strangers. In taverns one must be content to eat and drink in a public room," p. 97. It is so in all Germany; but in Copenhagen persons may have tables or rooms to themselves when bespoke; and no stranger need or does want convenient lodgings, both in public and private houses.

"Their seasons of jollity are very scarce," p. 97. Persons of fashion have their diversions at seasonable times, as musick, comedies, retreats into the country in summer, as well as their sleds in the

the winter: whereas he says, "they content themselves with running at the goose on Shrove-Tuesday," p. 97. One would think that men of quality ran at this goose; but it is only a pastime of his beloved boors of Amack, and performed by them: only sometimes, because of the odd frolicks of these peasants, persons of better character condescend to be their spectators.

Perhaps it may be thought too nice for him to remark, "That nobody presumes to go in a sled till the King and court has begun; that the King passes over a new bridge the first; and that the clocks of Copenhagen strike the hours after the court clock," p. 97. If these remarks were but as true as they are nice, they would be admirable: but, as soon as the snow comes, every one *presumes* to use his sled; the diversion of it indeed is become more fashionable, when the King and court have done it one night through Copenhagen. As for new bridges, some of them might drop down again without any passage over them if no one were to go till the King had done it: in the mean time our Author must provide ferries for the passengers. The clocks of Copenhagen must be the most complaisant in the world; otherwise, if some traitorous clocks should chance to go too fast, they might make an exception to a rule so universal. I like this account our Author gives us of precedency in such ridiculous matters most extremely; because, having been searching, according to his advice, among the Barbarians, I find something like it at the Savage court of Monomotapa, where the Emperor, having dined, commands a trumpet to be sounded, to give notice to the rest of the princes of the world, that they may go to dinner.

The language, he says, "is very ungrateful, and like the Irish in its whining complaining tone," p. 98. He may be as free with the Irish as he pleases. But the Danes and North speak more like the English in their accent than any other people; and therefore these two nations most easily learn to read, speak, and understand, one another's languages, upon occasion. There is "a great agreement between their monosyllables," p. 98; which, being generally the particles and strength or sinews of a language, shew that the English has not only incorporated the old Saxon, but the Danish likewise, to bring it to its present perfection. At court, High Dutch and French are much used, and also Italian. Though conversation often passes in these; yet, if "any should boast that he could not speak Danish," p. 98, he

would render himself ridiculous; and an Englishman might think him not worthy to eat Danish bread: and indeed with reason; for, among the living tongues, there is none that, for its abundance, the propriety of the expression, the fitness and agreeableness to poetry and numbers, can pretend to surpass it.

I shall finish the remarks upon this chapter with a recapitulation of what the Author has delivered in it. Was ever any man so planet-struck as this Writer, to pronounce a people the "most miserable" in one page, and to fill the next with "the grandeur and equipage, p. 83, of the gentry, the plenty of "their tables," p. 92; their retreats for pleasure "in fruitful "and delightful gardens," *ibid.*; at the same time declaring "that the burghers, servants, and even peasants, have change of "linen, and are neat and cleanly," p. 93? What country can boast of more than plenty and neatness?

He begins with telling us, "that, in former times, when the "nobility and gentry were the same thing," p. 76; that is, during the times that the nobles had "an excess of power," p. 76, in their hands; "they lived in great affluence and prosperity," *ibid.* which he takes much pains to describe, and every body will easily be induced to believe. "Then the commons were willing "in a great measure to be directed by them," *ibid.*; that is, "because they depended on them," *ibid.*; were forced, "like "slaves," p. 54, to truckle to them whether they would or no. "But, in process of time, the liberties of the whole country were "lost," p. 76. By which alteration, the nobles were reduced to some bounds, and the commons delivered from a tyrannical aristocracy, p. 73. This change forsooth "creates in them all a "kind of laziness and idle despondency, setting them beyond "hopes and fears; inasmuch that even the nobility are now "desirous," p. 78, "to procure employments civil (strange!) and "military (wonderful!)"—Civil, I suppose, without *hopes*; and military, without *fears*.

Under these circumstances, "it is easily imagined, the present "condition of such a people, in all ranks is most deplorable," p. 75; "their nobility and gentry sunk very low, and diminishing daily both in number and credit," p. 76; "they are forced "to live meanly and obscurely in some corner of their ruinous "palaces; and patiently endure their poverty at home; their
"spirits

“spirits (for there was not so much as a song or tune made in three years, p. 96,) as well as estates grown so mean, that you would scarce believe them to be gentlemen by their discourse and garb.”

The truth of all which foregoing assertions is seen in nothing more plainly than in what he fully delivers to us, concerning the extravagant expences which the Danes are at, in “coaches, retinue, cloaths,” &c. p. 83. They ride abroad, it seems, poor gentlemen! in “their coaches with great equipage,” to shew “how patiently they endure their poverty in some obscure corner of their ruinous palaces!” They go so “very fine in their dress, after the French mode,” p. 93. and are so “prodigal in their cloaths,” p. 83, “that you would scarce believe them to be gentlemen by their garb.”—“Their tables are so well furnished with dishes,” p. 92, and their gardens afford them fruit in “so great perfection,” that they are forced to seek employments, “that they may eat a piece of bread,” p. 79. 81. But, if they have a mind to carouse, or be excessive in their drinking, they have “Rhenish and French wines,” p. 93, to do it with: and upon a merry bout, even a boor can drop a rixdollar, for a chiruping dose of “brandy,” p. 84; and, though he has neither plate nor “silver spoon in his cottage,” p. 88, yet can be as merry as a prince, and has “clean linen,” p. 93. (poor slave!) p. 86; and a good feather-bed, (poor Negro!) p. 88, to go home and lye down on.

To conclude; when any of the gentry dye, they leave such estates behind them, as that their children think themselves obliged to make “costly burials,” and raise “sumptuous monuments,” p. 94, to their memory.

Such is their misery when living; such their ignominy when dead!

C H A P. IX.

Of the Revenue.

LET us in this Chapter follow the Author's advice, p. 102, and "measure Hercules by his foot." If what has gone before does not suffice, let us at least from hence take the height of his fancy, and the level of his understanding.

He does indeed throughout the whole pursue his first design; which is, to multiply the taxes, and yet afterwards to lessen the revenue. With what art he does it, and with what respect to truth, the following instances may convince the reader,

Consumption, or excise upon things consumable, is the first tax he mentions, p. 100. The Danes perhaps took their pattern for this from Holland. But here the Author, to multiply the taxes, makes three of one; for he says, "There are besides smaller taxes; as, thirdly, upon marriages, where every couple marrying pay so much for their licence, according to their qualities; this is pretty high, and comes in some cases to 30 or 40 rixdollars." This is only a branch of the consumption; where it is decreed, that every couple that marries shall pay a small matter to the King; nor is this *pretty high*, for it seldom amounts among the common people higher than from half a rixdollar to a whole one. But paying for licences for marriage is quite another thing. People of quality, that will not have the public bans thrice proclaimed in the churches, and besides desire to be married at home in their houses privately, buy licences, and commonly pay 10 rixdollars for them. That tax for "brewing, grinding, &c." is nothing else but the consumption paid by brewers or millers.

"Poll-money," he says, p. 101, "is sometimes raised twice a year." This is more than the Danes know of (or, if it might have happened, is extremely rare); and in raising this tax, more proportion is observed in Denmark between the substance of one and another than any where else: wherefore it is very far from truth, that "it is only guessed at."

"Fortification-tax, or money raised for or upon pretence of making fortifications," p. 101, was never raised but once, which was three years ago; nor was it done then upon *pretence*,

but

but expended upon the fortifications of Croneborg, Rensborg, &c. and then, to ease the subject, the poll-tax was not gathered that year. Marriage-tax for a daughter of Denmark is raised upon occasion (as in other places); but that "under this name" occasion is taken to raise more than the portion," is more than any one can pretend to demonstrate.

"Trade-money," p. 101, "where every tradesman is taxed for the exercising his trade, and moreover obliged to quarter soldiers," is a tax never heard of; except what a tradesman pays to his company in the cities where he begins to exercise his trade, and this is very unjustly called a tax to the King; and then he is obliged to quarter soldiers, not as a tradesman, but a burgher.

"Ground-rent," he says, p. 102, "is paid for all houses in Copenhagen, or any other towns in Denmark; which are taxed by the King when he pleases." This is called *byskat*, or town-tax, and is contributed towards the city-stock, and is a very small matter; nothing near 4 per cent. as he afterwards, p. 103, would persuade us. In the other cities of Denmark, this tax was never known to be paid to the King: but in Copenhagen such a thing may have happened once, instead of another tax which then ceased.

We come next to six very edifying pages, viz. p. 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108; where any one that is curious may know the excise upon mustard-seed, eggs, tripe, and coleworts; also upon eels, soap, and herrings: which sheet of his Book can be no where more acceptable, nor of greater use, than for the more careful preservation of those commodities, when they are to be carried from Leaden-hall or Newgate market.

"Public-mills," it seems, "there are," p. 109; "where all the inhabitants of Copenhagen are bound to grind, and to pay the sums above-mentioned for grinding." There are such mills; but they cause no new tax: and what is paid for grinding there, is as cheap as it would be done any where else; they being appointed only, that so the consumption-tax may not be avoided.

Having gone a second time over his taxes, and given an account of some that had never been, and others that have seldom been; he comes at last, p. 213, to one "that had like to have been: for, if the King's only daughter had been married to

“the Elector of Saxony, as she was about to be, a tax had certainly been levied.” Perhaps there might! In the mean time what does this tax do here; especially when (in the very next words) he supposes that, by this, an English Reader has taken a surfeit of his account of taxes? For, if he must have surfeited us, it might have been with something to the purpose. I confess no tax the Danes lie under surfeits me half so much, as the having paid three shillings for such a narrative.

After all that he has said, it is easily imagined, that a fleet and army cannot be maintained without taxes, which are raised either upon land, by poll-money or excise. His present Majesty has with great wisdom caused “a valuation of all houses in cities, and an admeasurement of all lands in the country,” p. 110; from whence every man pays in proportion to his estate, and “each farm is taxed higher or lower, according to the fertility of the land, seasonableness of the year, or ability of the land-lord,” p. 101. “So there is an equality of the taxes, and the manner of taxing,” p. 247. This makes the people both willing and able to bear them: and as the contrary, viz. unequal taxation, was the cause of the alteration of the government, so this is the preservation of it.

Were Denmark in “a profound peace,” as the Author imagines, p. 114; then he might have cried out with some reason, “*Pax servientibus gravior est, quàm liberis bellum.*” But, when the greatest princes in Europe are in arms, during the noise and tumult of war, the peace of Denmark cannot be so “profound.” And I believe that it is no ill maxim for a neuter prince to take care, whilst his neighbours are in war, that the conqueror shall not be able to hurt him. Denmark endeavours to do this, and accordingly keeps up a fleet and army; so that, “if a war should happen,” he need not be in suspense “whether his subjects could possibly bear a greater burthen,” p. 110; for there would not be a necessity for much more towards maintaining them; and then, besides the disciplining of the men, there would be all that charge saved, which attends upon the levying of new soldiers.

From this account of taxes, the Author brings us to a catalogue of other miseries: “The number of trading ships is decreased, and does not come up to what it did within these
“thirty

"thirty years," p. 116; "and the foreign trade of Norway is considerably diminished since their late quarrel with the Dutch," p. 115: whereas, in truth, the trade never was greater than it is now; and the Dutch can so little be supplied with their wooden commodities from Sweden, that they are glad to re-fix their commerce with Norway again.

He gives us, p. 117, his computation of the ships that trade thither, and that pass the sound yearly: but I never liked his computations, because I have before found him wrong in his arithmetick; and at present there is a difference that I cannot easily reconcile. In his Chapter of the Sound, p. 23, 24, 25, he recites "a letter from a very understanding person, March 31, 1691," which gives him to understand, "that, since the peace with Sweden, the Sound has not yielded above 80,000 rix-dollars *per annum*; and the last year past, it did not reach to full 70,000." Now, if I should have believed his "understanding friend," what a mistake I might have run into! For, when the Author himself comes to give us his opinion of it, p. 115, he says, that, "in the years 1690 and 1691, it amounted not to much more than 65,000 rixdollars, at which rate we may judge it likely to continue." Seeing this disagreement between him and his "understanding friend;" what credit can we strangers give to the letter of advice, when there are at least 4000 rix-dollars, in the account between them, which he will not take his friend's word for?

"There is another branch of the King's revenue," p. 117, "which is least considerable, and arises from the rents of the crown-lands and confiscated estates. The latter are in the King's hands, either upon account of forfeiture for treason and other crimes, or by reason of debt and non-payment of taxes; but, notwithstanding this addition of lands, the King is so far from being the richer, that he is the poorer for it." And were the thing true, "that estates fell in to the crown rather than pay taxes," it would be great pity that the King should receive any advantage by them! But such surrenders are as imaginary as his confiscations for treason and other crimes: for Denmark is that happy country, where, according to his own words, p. 139, "you never hear of any person guilty of the crime of treason against the King; there are no clippers and
"coiners,

“coiners, no robbers upon the high-way, nor house-breakers.” So that if he, being an exact arithmetician, will put together the rents of estates given to the King rather than pay taxes; the rents of estates confiscated for treason; rents of estates forfeited for coining, robbing, and house-breaking, to the money arising to his Majesty from “the tax which might have been,” p. 113; the sum total will probably be just nothing.

But farther, as for this sort of land, “it generally turns to forest, and contributes to his diversion, though little to his purse,” p. 118. It is a sign his purse needs no supply, when he can afford so much ground for his diversion. “And then the royal palaces run to decay,” *ibid.*; and so they do in all countries, when the prince is better pleased with another situation. As for several of the King of Denmark’s palaces, they are old uncouth buildings, used by former Kings, disused now, and therefore not kept in so good order as Fredericksborg, Jagerf-borg, and others, where the King passes some part of the year.

The Author, it seems, has met with another “understanding person,” p. 119, who has informed him in several things; as, first, “that it is very difficult to make any rational computation of the running cash of these kingdoms,” or indeed of any kingdom besides this; and so his labour might have been superseded; “certainly it is but very little, and not near the hundredth part of that of England,” *ibid.* When he is able to give a rational computation of the running cash of England, then it will be time enough to guess what proportion that of Denmark may bear to it: but, till I find that understanding persons agree in the computation of that of my own country, I shall despair of finding them exact as to that of another. If “they have no cash by them, and are indebted over head and ears to their creditors at Amsterdam and Hamburgh,” *ibid.* how comes it to pass that the Danish merchants have so good credit in both those cities, and how come they to have it in London? “But the officers of the army transport their money to other countries.” This may be true in some very few instances; but, for the most part, these officers are Danes, or married and settled in Denmark, as has before been intimated. “That few or none of the ministers of state purchase any lands,” p. 118, is as true as other of his remarks; for there is no public minister,

be he Dane or not, that has not one, two, or more seats, with lands appertaining to them, in the country. "That these kingdoms consume more of foreign commodities than their own product can countervail," *ibid.* cannot certainly be said of Norway, nor of several provinces of Denmark, as Jutland, Laaland, &c.; and any person who has the least knowledge of their traffick will easily confute this assertion. As for "running of brass-money amongst the common people," it is as farthings amongst us. Their silver coin is very good in respect of several other nations, although not equal to Sterling; but, whether the goodness of coin be a way to preserve running cash in a kingdom, may perhaps hereafter come to be considered by the English.

Under these circumstances, I cannot think this "understanding person" a competent judge of the running cash of Denmark; any more than I take the Author to be of the King of Denmark's revenue, though he is so very particular as to make it "two millions two hundred twenty-two thousand rixdollars," p. 122. And I am the more confirmed in this opinion, because, the taxes not being every year the same, the revenue received by several officers, and no account given but to the King himself, the calculation of the revenue can hardly be made by those who are most employed in these affairs at the court, much less by a foreigner.

"To conclude with Norway: the revenue of the Southern part amounts to between five and six hundred thousand rixdollars, and of the Northern to between two and three hundred thousand; and so the total may be, *communibus annis*, 800,000 rixdollars." So says the Author, p. 117. But, when he comes to sum up the whole revenue, p. 121, there all the revenue of Norway comes but to 700,000 rixdollars. Were their losses in Denmark to be so great, "the natives," p. 120, "might well think that it was impossible for the taxes to continue; and wish for an invader, since they have little or no property to lose." For you were pleased, Sir, to drop four thousand rixdollars in the customs of the Sound; and here you defalk a hundred thousand rixdollars more. Might I advise, whatever foreigners may be preferred in the Danish court, you should never come into the treasury, if you can make up your accounts no better.

CHAP. X.

Of the Army, Fleet, and Fortresses.

THE Author begins this Chapter with bewailing the misery of Denmark, that the revenue is expended upon a standing army, and upon the maintaining of a fleet and fortresses: and if Denmark had not sufficient reasons for the maintenance of all these, they would have just cause to complain.

But it seems it is “the King of France, that great master of the art of reigning, that has instructed the court of Denmark,” p. 123; “and the King is his pupil,” p. 124: and in pursuance to such a character, he has taught him “the pernicious secret of making one part of the people both the bridle and scourge to the other.” This is not so great a secret, but that it has been known and practised in all ages and countries; that, when one part of a nation is factious and mutinous, the more honest and sober part should *bridle* them; and if part of a nation rebel, the other, that is for quietness, should endeavour to scourge and correct them. But, God be thanked! Denmark has no occasion for an army upon these accounts, nor necessity of going to France for such a maxim. In the next place, “France has taught him to raise more men than his country can maintain,” p. 124. Very well! and then his own prudence teaches him to disband such as he thinks unnecessary or burthensome to him, as he has done several times. But the great thing that he has taught him is, “that soldiers are the only true riches,” p. 125—127. The thing that the Author would here reflect upon is, that the German Princes often receive money, before they will send their troops into a foreign service; and hence he would infer, “that at present soldiers are grown as saleable ware as sheep and oxen,” p. 125. What a strange country must this be, “where the soldiers are sheep and oxen, and the peasants timber-trees!” p. 86. But the King of Denmark esteems his soldiers to be his wealth, only as he can make them serviceable to his allies, or as they preserve his subjects from any foreign attempts, and so are the cause of quiet, and consequently of “true riches.”

Yet, whatever the matter is, it happens, p. 127, that the pupil improves but ill upon the example which the French King has set him. “The toad may emulate the ox, and swell; but he

“shall sooner burst than equal him,” p. 127. Truly a very decent similitude for a couple of crowned heads! I find the Author mightily taken with this kind of animals; for, speaking with reference to, and commendation of, the laws of Denmark, p. 232, he says, “there is no plant or insect, how venomous or mean soever, but is good for something.” Upon which, a friend of mine observed, that there may be a creature in the world, that has as much venom and malice as any vermin, and yet be good for nothing.

It were to be wished that there could be a remedy found for keeping up so great a number of soldiers as are at present in Europe. But his own words, p. 126, “that none of the Kings or Princes, though endowed with a more peaceable spirit and better judgement than the rest, dares lead the dance and disarray, for fear of his armed neighbours,” excuse not only the King of Denmark, but those other Kings whom he obliquely would blame upon this occasion.

To give a list of the Danish officers, would be too nice, and is continually variable. However, the King of Denmark may be said to have above twenty thousand men in pay, besides those that are in the Emperor's and the King of England's service. I have before given an account of the soldiery; only I must add this farther, that when he says, “the troopers are maintained by their peasants,” p. 135, the Reader must know, that there are particular peasants living on lands in the country, that are appropriated to this use; so that such a peasant as contributes to the maintaining of these troopers pay the less, both rent and taxes. “That these troopers are none of the best soldiers,” *ibid.* is reported by this Author; because he confesses “they are generally natives,” *ibid.* Yet King William has judged far better of the three regiments of horse that he had from Denmark; the half part of which behaved themselves so well in the battle of Landen (for the other half was with the Duke of Wirtemberg), that his Majesty was pleased to compliment their colonels particularly upon the bravery and valour of their troops.

The Author gives us a reason, p. 135, why there are not more natives in the army; “because the landlords, whose slaves they are, can hinder them from entering into the King's service, and remand them if any should offer so to do.” This is true only of the *vornede*, whose condition has heretofore been described:

scribed: but it is an apparent proof that the King of Denmark is not so arbitrary as he would make him, and that the Danes have not entirely lost their property; since they have such an authority as to be able to deny their King the taking of men from their farms, though they are to be employed in the service of their country.

As for the French officers, which he says are in the army; the most part of them are such as have been forced to leave their country for the sake of religion: and Denmark thinks it a duty and honour to be able to grant them protection.

In his account of the fortifications, p. 143, instead of saying that Naskow is of no defence, he might have said, that Naskow is a good fortress; which it shewed in the war with Sweden, when it longer resisted the enemy than most of the other towns. He speaks as slightly of the fortifications of Copenhagen in this place, p. 144, as he did before; although that, and not Rensburg, *ibid.* is the most considerable place for strength that the King of Denmark has. Neither is Nyborg so much out of repair; nor Fredericks-hall, which is the strongest place in Norway by natural situation, so much commanded by the neighbouring hill as he would insinuate.

In the account of the fleet, which he makes to consist of but two and thirty ships, p. 141, he has omitted several; and as to what he says, "that it was never set to sea thus equipt," p. 142, the late wars with Sweden may sufficiently confute him: and yet the King of Denmark had much fewer ships then than he has at present. The Danes and North are very good seamen: the Dutch are mightily desirous of them, and consequently have several in their service; yet not so but that they would return upon occasion; and indeed all the seamen are so ready to be employed in the King's service, that there is no need of pressing, to man the fleet. To make this the more easy, the sea officers are kept in pay during a peace as well as in time of war; and so are the seamen, who have a salary, and are employed in the *Bremer bolm*, in working upon all materials necessary for the naval service. As for the sea provision of the Danes, which he says is very bad; the contrary will easily be evinced by any that have experience of it. "The mutiny of the seamen," p. 138, and "the besieging the King in his palace," p. 139, is a mere story; for "in Denmark are no mutineers," p. 246. But it may have happened

happened that the seamens wives may have had complaints to the lords of the admiralty: now, the admiralty being opposite to the castle, their flocking thither, perhaps to this over-curious Gentleman, who is troubled with several "active qualities which liberty and freedom beget," p. 75, and has his head always full of commotions, may have seemed to have been a mutiny.



C H A P. XI.

Of the Court.

TO give characters of living princes and public ministers of state, must be a thing very difficult: it is not easy for the man who would make them to set aside passion or partiality; and, mens tempers, humours, inclinations, and interests, daily nay hourly varying, it is hard to fix a lasting character upon a man, till we see the whole thread and tenour of his life and actions. This is one reason why I do not defer so much to the characters which the Author gives in this Chapter. Besides, when I have found him mistaken in his account and description of things which are sensible and permanent, I shall be much more cautious how I trust him as to his notions of men, who are mutable and various; especially when he would make his search into the recesses of their mind, and there discover their very thoughts and "sincerity," p. 168. For, if the Author's conversation be like his writing, a man might be very free and open in his temper, and yet appear reserved to him; for it is the opinion taken of the man which makes one disclose one's self to him. And I am the more confirmed in not relying upon these characters, because, in the same Chapter, when he is to give us an account of so considerable a court, he tells us things so very ridiculous—as, that I must go "for an idea of the Danish court to some English noblemen," p. 159. Methinks, "the horse and foot guards, and trabands, the kettle-drums, the trumpets, which are in perfection, and, being ranged in a large place before the palace, proclaim aloud the very minute when he sits down to table," declare to me that there is some difference.—"That few or no gentlemen that have no employments come to court," p. 159. I cannot imagine whither men should go, or where they should sooner pay their

their attendance, for the obtaining of preferment, if they have any hopes or merits to deserve it.—“ That the King’s children, domestic and foreign ministers, officers of the army and household, who appear in the anti-chamber and bed-chamber, seldom amount to above the number of twenty or thirty,” p. 159. I cannot think the number seldom to exceed *thirty*, when the royal family is so numerous as to make seven of them; and methinks courtesy, duty, or interest at least, might bring four and twenty more, to make above thirty.—“ That there is a plentiful table, but the meat is drest after their own manner,” p. 158. Ridiculous! Is not the King of Spain’s drest after his own manner?—There are abundance more of the like particulars, which I shall omit; only this one, where he says, “ That King Frederick had once the thoughts of making the present Count Guldenlew King of Norway; which has been remembered to his prejudice,” p. 155: for it is what was never heard of in Denmark; nor could that thought have been consistent with such a King’s great wisdom. I must, for these reasons, beg the Author’s pardon, if I do not give an entire belief to his characters; and the Readers, for my not giving any of the same persons myself: but with a very short description of the court conclude this Chapter.

The King of Denmark’s great and royal qualities make him universally beloved by his people; and the Queen, by her goodness, obliges them to the same affection, and makes her difference in opinion from them scarce discernible. Frederick the Prince Royal, in his late travels, where-ever he came, appeared accomplished and very gracious; and at home he is admired, for having such a temper as will follow his father’s example, and pursue his designs for the ease and prosperity of his subjects. Prince Christian has all the vigour and gaiety of youth; and the two younger Princes Charles and William give great hopes, agreeable to their respective ages; and the Princess Sophia Hedewig has all that beauty and sweetness, which will one day render some young Prince happy. The ministers of state, who compose the council, as Guldenlew, Reventlaw, &c. are persons of honour and fidelity to their master; by whose advice affairs are so managed, that he has love at home, and honour abroad. Though the court has not all that luxury which may be in some more Southern climates, yet there is decency and a sufficient grandeur: nor is it strange that a warlike Prince and nation should express their magnificence by

by things suitable, as the attendance of horse and foot guards, kettle-drums, and trumpets; and consequently that the King's diversions should be the reviewing of his troops, or hunting in its proper season, as an exercise becoming a soldier. These occasion frequent removals of the court; which can go no where to a finer place than Fredericksburg, which, though it be not built after the modern architecture, yet may be esteemed one of the pleafantest palaces in Europe. The ladies likewise have their diversions; not only in the hunting of deer and swans, but the nicer ones of their sleds, musick, masquerades, and comedies. To increase the grandeur of the court, the King has two orders of knighthood. The first, being that of the Elephant, is given only to foreign Princes, or subjects of the highest deserts and qualities. The other, which is the order of Danebroke, was instituted long ago; but not, as our Author says, "by one King Dan, who saw a white cross with red edges descend from heaven, and and thereupon instituted the order," p. 178. For King Waldemar II, fighting against the Islanders in the year 1219, saw, or pretended to see, this banner descend from heaven, which was followed by a great victory; and in remembrance of this, the order of Danebroke was instituted. This was laid aside a great while, but revived by his present Majesty. The knights are inferior to those of the Elephant; yet they are both fewer in number, p. 179, and greater in honour by far, than the baronets in England.

As to the rank and precedency of all great officers and other persons, the Author has given us an ordonnance in French concerning it, which was published in 1680. It is true that his account is to represent Denmark as it stood in 1692. However, it is strange that so curious and exact a man should have no correspondence there from 92 till 94, when his Book was published; for then he might have known that, by a new ordonnance, dated 11th of February, 1693, this old ordonnance of our Author's is altered in abundance of particulars, so that he has nine whole pages of his Book, that, by his negligence, are entirely good for nothing.

C H A P. XII.

The Disposition and Inclinations of the King of Denmark toward his Neighbours.

THIS Chapter seems to labour under the same difficulties with the former: for, as we see the interests of Princes are changeable, so are their inclinations; upon which reason I shall leave him to dive into the hearts of men and the cabinets of Princes, and only see whether his matter of fact be absolutely true: for, that being the foundation, according as that appears, we shall be able to give our opinion of his superstructure.

First, as this Author is a mighty lover of seditions within a kingdom, so he is of animosities and quarrels without: therefore his preface is very common, and often repeated, "That there will be a fresh-war between Denmark and Sweden." But, on the contrary, they rather grow greater friends every day than other; nor has there been a stricter alliance between those crowns than is at present, which has been lately renewed by solemn treaties.

Secondly, "Whenever," says he, "we please to careſs the one at the expence of the other, this seeming knot will discover the weakneſs of the contexture, and probably diſſolve of itſelf," p. 192. Theſe two Princes are not to be ſuppoſed to break ſolemn oaths and treaties for a little intereſt that may be proffered them by England and Holland: and we ſaw this laſt year, when the Danes ſtopt the Dutch ſhips in the Sound, the Swede, although never ſo much careſſed, could not be prevailed with to go off from the King of Denmark's intereſt, or take any other party; but contributed what he could, to procure a ſatiſfaction for his confederate.

Thirdly, "That the alliance, by the King of Sweden's having married the other's ſiſter, is not of any moment towards a good correſpondence," p. 192, is not altogether ſo certain; for this Queen, whiſt ſhe lived, was the greateſt tie between theſe two nations. She was the delight of them both; and that not without reaſon, for ſhe had all the accompliſhments of piety, wiſdom, goodneſs, and all other virtues: ſo that Sweden loves Denmark for nothing more than the having received from thence a Queen for whom they had ſo great a veneration.

Fourthly, he wrongs the King of Sweden, when he ſays, p. 193, "that he ſhewed coldneſs and indifferenece enough to his Queen." He "a virtuous Prince," *ibid.* and ſhe "an accompliſhed
"Princeſs,"

“ Princesses,” *ibid.*; and yet “ coldness and indifference !” What is this but a contradiction? But the matter of fact is this, that never a greater love and esteem could be had for a Queen, than this King had for his; which was manifestly enough shewn by the deep affliction her death threw him into, so that he would scarce admit of consolation: and Sweden never heard of such a sumptuousness and magnificence as that wherewith her burial was accompanied.

Fifthly, whatever he omits concerning “ the Swedes avoiding a farther matrimonial tie with Denmark,” p. 193; yet it is true, that the general report of the world is concerning a double marriage, between the Prince Royal of Denmark and the Princess of Sweden, as also between the Prince Royal of Sweden and the Princess of Denmark: If so, where is this Gentleman’s assurance of the impossibility of a farther matrimonial tie; or the certainty of the Prince of Holstein’s being contracted to the Princess of Sweden, whom he falsely calls, p. 193; “ the only daughter of the “ King of Sweden;” this King having two Princesses living by the lately deceased Queen?

Sixthly, as the Author is pretty near, in guessing that “ the “ King of Denmark would not sit down with the Duke of Zell’s “ thrusting himself into the Dutchy of Saxe Lunenburg;” so he is out of the way, when he says that “ the King of Sweden “ would uphold the Lunenburg family, though secretly:” for the Swede was one of the chief mediators that made the Duke of Zell demolish Ratzeburg last year, and give the King of Denmark the satisfaction which he desired:

Seventhly, when he says; “ that the Duke of Holstein has, by “ the sister of the King of Denmark, issue, a very hopeful Prince;” one should think he has no more issue than this only son: whereas the Duke of Holstein has several children of both sexes.

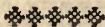


CHAP. XIII.

The Manner of dispossessing and restoring the Duke of Holstein Gottorp.

ANY one who reads this and the foregoing Chapter will see the Author’s partiality for the Duke of Holstein. He seems to have undertaken his cause, and to display it in all its

best colours and brightness. It were an easy thing, in answer to all this, to transcribe the King of Denmark's manifesto upon this occasion; which those who are curious may consult if they please, it having been spread about all Germany. But I shall avoid meddling with any justification of the King of Denmark upon this account: the reason is, because there is at present an entire reconciliation between the King and his brother-in-law the Duke; and last year they met together with great friendship in Holstein. Now reconciliation clears up a thousand things, which distrust, jealousy, or misunderstanding, may have cast before one: what heretofore may have seemed unkind or unjust, then will appear to have been necessary; but, especially upon the renewing of friendship, there should be no justification of former proceedings made by either party; for such justification shews as if the breach were not thoroughly repaired, and will give a handle for future disputes and difficulties: since no reconciliation will be perfect, but such as carries along with it an entire oblivion of past differences and all their circumstances.



CHAP. XIV.

The Interests of Denmark in relation to other Princes.

I SHALL be very short in relation to this Chapter, because it is of the same nature with the former.

What he says of Denmark, that "it resembles a monster, that is all head and no body, all soldiers and no subjects," p. 224, has been sufficiently confuted. However, if I were to have a monster, I would rather have one that is all head and no body, than such a one as he would make, which is all body and no head.

Neither am I of opinion that Denmark bears no greater proportion to France than "the little republick of St. Marino does to Venice," or that "Denmark is the least and poorest kingdom in Europe," p. 225: for, as to its poverty, I have given him an account; and as to the littleness of this kingdom, I must a second time make bold with the first words of his Book against him.

him; "That, if we consider the extent of the King of Denmark's dominions, he may with justice be reckoned among the greatest Princes in Europe."



C H A P. XV.

Of the Laws, Courts of Justice, &c.

THE Danes are sprung from the Goths, who have always been a most warlike nation. They have left no Northern people free from their incursions at least, if not their conquests; and extended them from Island to the warmer climates of Spain and Italy, and the burning shores of Africa^x; and have the honour never to have submitted to the Roman empire, nor to have any just pretences made from thence of superiority or dominion over them. Their Historians affirm, that they have had a continued succession of Princes from a thousand and forty years before Christ, who have continually governed them. They have always been ruled by their own laws, without foreign impositions. These laws and customs were so agreeable to the Northern people, that Roger Hoveden, in his Annals of Henry the Second of England, says, "that, when William the Conqueror was to give laws to the English, he made the greatest use of the Danish laws to that purpose, from the love he bore to the Danes, from whom the Normans took their original." Under the forementioned laws and customs the Danes lived: which they might possibly explain or improve by the Civil or Roman Law that Pontanus^y says they made use of, and which the governors of their monasteries understood and studied, having learnt them in the universities of France and Italy^z. King Waldemar, in the year of Christ one thousand two hundred thirty-two, collected the statutes of his predecessors, which, with the ancient customs of the Danes and Cimbers, he reduced into writing; and, adding several others together, with the consent of the states, he made an

^x Krantzius, in Danic. lib. i. &c. Meursius, Hist. Dan. lib. ii. iii. Isaac Pontanus, Rer. Dan.

^y Lib. vi.

^z Georg. Lorich. in addit. ad Conf. poster. n. 92. Helmold. lib. iii. Chron. Sclavorum, c. 5.

entire body of the Danish law^a. Yet this was but for one province; for formerly each province, Jutland, Sealand, &c. had their own particular laws, differing from one another. And indeed, since his present Majesty's collection and reformation of the laws, the Danish and North law is still distinguished; so that there is just such another volume comprehending the North law, as that of the Danish: but there is no difference, except in such things where the nature and situation of Norway require another regulation than Denmark. In Norway likewise is another high court of justice, where the viceroy is resident, to which all causes may come by appeal: but, if the parties be not contented with the decision of that court, they have a further appeal to the highest court in Copenhagen.

Holstein is ruled by the Imperial law, as a fief of the Empire: and there are at Copenhagen two chanceries; the Danish for Denmark and Norway, the German for Holstein and the other German provinces belonging to the King of Denmark.

He has said nothing of the ecclesiastical courts in Denmark, which are in every diocese where the Bishop is resident; and several of the chief of the clergy are his assistants, and the chief governor of the province always present on the King's behalf.

These ecclesiastical courts are proper for all the clergy; but, if the cases are of little importance, they are first judged by the *propositus* (who is like one of our rural deans) and some of the eldest ministers in his district, which may be called an inferior court; but in both these nothing is judged but things of ecclesiastical nature.

In Copenhagen there is a consistory, where the *rector magnificus* (chosen every year out of the Professors, and like the Vice-chancellors at Oxford and Cambridge) is President, and most of the Professors his assistants; in this court all things relating to the University are debated.

As for his politic comparison of "the trap to kill vermin in dove-houses," p. 239; and his nice description of "the head-man and kennel-raker;" I shall only tell the Reader that they are false, and so leave them to our Author's further reflection.

^a Pontanus, lib. vi. Duck, de Autoritate Juris Civilis.

C H A P. XVI.

The State of Religion, of the Clergy and Learning, &c.

WE must not expect great accuracy in what he says of the Reformation of Denmark, neither as to the time, nor the King that then reigned. For not "only Frederick the First," p. 249, but his successor Christian the Second^b, favoured Luther's doctrine; and both he and his Queen, who was sister to Charles V, died in that profession. Frederick, who succeeded his nephew, by a public edict, in the year 1524, enjoined that nobody in his kingdoms or provinces, under the forfeiture of life and goods, should do the other any hurt, either Papist or Lutheran; but every one should so behave himself in his religion, as he would answer it before God Almighty with a good conscience: at the same time seriously commanding that the people should be well informed in the doctrine of the Gospel, that the Romish abuses might be the sooner extirpated. This he repeated in the diet of Odensee, A. D. 1527; and more was not done by this King till his death, which happened A. D. 1533, saving that he himself adhered to the Protestant religion, and favoured both that and its preachers wherever he could in his whole dominions. But Popery was tolerated however; nay as yet carried the sway, by the great oppositions and power of the bishops. This appeared in the diet which was called upon the death of Frederick; in which diet one of the chief Lutheran preachers, Mr. John Tauffon, had been oppressed by the power of the bishops, if the citizens of Copenhagen, who adhered firmly to the Protestant religion, had not rescued him with force of arms; from whence we see, that though Frederick the First brought it in, yet he did not "establish so generally Luther's doctrine in his dominions," as we are told by this Author, p. 249.

Afterwards King Christian III, finding great opposition from the Popish party, with much trouble, and not without effusion of

^b Christian II, who was king of Sweden as well as Denmark, was deposed in 1522. From this period those kingdoms were divided; Gustavus Ericson ascending the throne of Sweden; and Frederick I, that of Denmark. According to Mosheim, the Reformation was received in Sweden, in 1530; in Denmark, in 1521.

blood, having besieged Copenhagen a whole year, and at last forced it to surrender by famine, began to *establish* the Reformation with vigour: for the seven Popish bishops were suddenly surprized and imprisoned by the King; and, after having been publicly before the diet of the kingdom accused and convicted of many enormous crimes, were all deposed, and seven other super-intendants, or Protestant bishops, afterwards consecrated in their places. The King was crowned by Dr. John Bugenhagen, who had been fellow-labourer with Luther in the work of the Reformation; and, in the year 1539, in the diet of Odensee, the last hand was set to the Reformation, and it was wholly and universally introduced and settled in Denmark as it is at this day.

Now I leave the Reader to judge of the great accuracy of our Author, when he says that "Frederick the First established Luther's doctrine about 150 years ago," p. 235. First, 150 years ago, Frederick the First had been dead for above nine years; and next, it was his son, Christian the Third, who established the Protestant religion, in the year 1539.

There is an union and harmony of religion throughout the whole kingdom; and this, our Author says, p. 251, "cuts off occasion of rebellion and mutiny." It is very reasonable it should! and a sign that the clergy do their duty in preaching such due obedience as the Gospel enjoins; and the people shew their sense of religion in being directed by them: not that "the priests depend entirely upon the crown," as this Author intimates, p. 251, any more than the rest of the King of Denmark's subjects; nor the people "absolutely governed by the priests," *ibid.* with a blind obedience, any further than scripture and reason obliges them.

"The clergy have full scope given them to be as bigoted as they please," *ibid.* I know not what he means by their being bigoted, unless it is, that they are zealous in teaching their people the doctrines of salvation, and resisting vice and scandal in their peculiar churches, as they ought to be. Perhaps this Author would not have them trouble their heads much about religion, nor be zealous for any one in particular; but content themselves with an idle dependency and scepticism concerning all.

That "the clergy have no common charity for any that differ from them in opinion, except the church of England," p. 251, is a proposition very boldly advanced against a body of men in
whom

whom charity ought always to be conspicuous; and for a defence against this charge, they appeal to those numerous French Protestants who have fled to them for relief, to whom at present they allow a church for their public worship, though there has been no example before since the Reformation, and the law is directly against it. They confess that they cannot join in communion with them, because they differ as to the real presence in the sacrament, and in the point of absolute predestination, which they take to be essential; for it is the doctrine of reprobation, which has been the greatest stumbling-block between them and the Calvinists; but the Lutherans, seeing the great moderation of the church of England, both in that particular and in the other of the real presence, have always had a veneration for it, and could be very desirous that their doctrines, especially that concerning the sacrament, were but rightly understood, so as to come to an union with it; for it is a general mistake in England, to call the notion of the Lutheran Protestants concerning the sacrament "consubstantiation," p. 252; for no such word is used amongst them. Their notion amounts to this, that they believe steadfastly a real and true presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, in a manner ineffable, which our Saviour himself is best able both to know and do; whereas "consubstantiation" would imply something more natural and material.

"Did Princes think it worth their while to promote this union," our Author "is confident," *ibid.* "that the business of *consubstantiation* would make no difference." It would be of wonderful consequence, if Princes should really promote this union between churches so considerable; and no better work could be performed in this turbulent and divided state of the church of Christ: for who knows but this union might draw another of more consequence after it, between all the rest who call themselves Protestants, and those more strictly so, viz. of the confession of Augsberg, who first gave us that name which we so much glory in? And what a fatal blow this would be to Popery, any rational man will easily imagine.

For the church of Denmark is far from deserving the character this Author gives it, *ibid.* "That the Calvinist is hated by them as much as the Papist; and the reason they give is, because he is against absolute monarchy, and has a resisting principle." They will confess they do not like his "resisting principle;"

and

and this makes a greater distance between them. However, they think it not agreeable to common charity, to hate either Calvinist or Papist: as to their errors, they think the Papists to have several that are fundamental, and more in number than the Calvinist, whom they have a respect for, as having jointly protested against the Antichrist of Rome. The church of Denmark think themselves likewise wronged, when he says, p. 253, "that they keep the mob in awe by confession, which they retain of the Romish church, as well as crucifixes and other ceremonies." For their confession is far from the "auricular confession" and enumeration of all sins made by the Papists: for they retain only that confession used in the primitive church, and which other Protestants wish for: for by that the minister can excite and exhort the communicants to a right penitence; and there, as our exhortation to the communion tell us of the church of England, "The penitent may open his grief to a discreet and sober minister of God's word, that he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advise, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness." In like manner, the Danes have crucifixes and other historical pictures out of the Bible in their churches; but they are far from making any idolatrous or superstitious use of them. They use them as ornaments and remembrances only; nor do they think, because a Papist adores a crucifix, that a Lutheran must consequently be so afraid of one as not to endure to look upon it. So likewise is it to be understood of the other ceremonies which they have kept, not "from the Romish church:" but innocent ceremonies, which the Romish church have abused, they have made a right use of, and are here in the same case with the church of England.

He says, "that the splendour and revenues of the church of England are the principal virtues they admire in us," p. 252. The church of England has lost so much of its revenues, as that it is not at present to be envied for them. Besides, I never found Splendour or Revenues recounted as virtues in Aristotle's Ethicks. But I have found Prudence, Fortitude, &c. among the virtues; and for these the Danish church may admire it; but more especially for its purity in doctrine, and its well-ordered government and discipline.

It is true that the church of England has better revenues than that of Denmark; for, at the Reformation, the King and states laid

laid almost all the ecclesiastical revenues to the crown, which at that very time Luther complained of to King Christian the Third. However, the ecclesiasticks in Denmark are in no low condition; for they live very well, and honourably as any gentlemen can desire. Every minister lives in his parish, and has one, two, three, or more neighbouring churches under his care; which if he cannot take care of alone, he does it by one or more assistants, called *chaplains*, which resemble our English deacons. He tells us, p. 251, "that the clergy are entirely dependant upon the crown," as if their salary was wholly given them by the King. But afterwards it seems, p. 252 and 253, "the best subsistence of the priests is the voluntary benevolence of the mob." So that their "flattery of the court," p. 252, ought, if this were true, to be turned into a "flattery of the mob," whose "vices," notwithstanding, "as well as those of persons of the highest quality, they reprehend with great freedom," *ibid.*: and yet their "churches are much frequented," p. 91. As to the subsistence of the ministers in Denmark, it is partly certain, as tithes, &c. as in England; partly uncertain, as offerings at the three great festivals in the year; marriages, burials, &c.: and they are very liberally provided for, without "cultivating the mob's good opinion," p. 253.

As the inferior clergy are thus provided for, so are the superior, such as the Bishops, Professors of Divinity, &c. to a greater degree. Concerning these he tells us, p. 153, "that there are six Super-intendants in Denmark, who take it very kindly to be called Bishops, and My Lord; viz. one in Sealand, one in Funen, four in Jutland; and four in Norway. These have no temporalties, keep no ecclesiastical courts, have no cathedrals with prebends, &c. but are only *primi inter pares*; having the rank above the inferior clergy of the province." 1. When he enumerated the Bishops, he might have mentioned those two more who were in Island. 2. That the Danish Bishops should take it kindly to be called "My Lord," is a very curious remark. They have not so often occasion to converse with Englishmen; and the Danish tongue has no word that properly answers to the English words "My Lord." Then they have no reason to refuse being called Bishops; since the King calls them so in the Danish law, and they have all episcopal jurisdiction. It is true that in Denmark, at the Reformation, none of the Popish Bishops (as many

in Sweden did) would embrace it; but all, because of their errors, were deposed; and then the new super-intendants, according to Luther's institution in Germany, were ordained by Dr. Bugenhagen, from Wittenberg. And they did, as their successors at present do, use and exercise in ecclesiastical things the same power and jurisdiction that any Bishop does in England or Sweden. 3. If by temporalities he means baronies, the Danish Bishops have none of them. But that they have ecclesiastical courts, is certain; and an account has before been given of them. 4. Though canons, prebends, and subdeans, are not as in England; yet in each cathedral church (for such there is in every diocese) the Bishop has four, five, or more, of the chief clergy for his assistants in the chapter; and they are called *canonici*, or *capitulares*. 5. In honour, the Bishops may be only *primi inter pares*; but in jurisdiction there is a very great subordination, so far as to suspend and depose, which sets them far beyond an equality. 6. That "most of these understand English, and draw the very best of their Divinity out of English Books; and those who have studied in Oxford are more valued than others," p. 254, are expressions that favour a little of vanity. They do indeed esteem our Divines, and especially their Sermons; but the way to be respected more by them is not to value ourselves too much.

As to "their learning," he says, "at present it is there at a very low ebb." But, to shew the contrary, I shall name some of those great men in all sciences, which have been eminent for their learning, and name some of those who preserve the succession.

In Divinity, who in the learned world does not know Hemmingius, Resenius both father and son, Brochmand, Winstrup, Swaningius, Wandalinus the elder, Bagerus, Noldius, Bircherodius, &c. In Physick, who are more famous than Thomas Bartholinus, Joh. Rhodius so renowned in Italy, Nic. Stenonius the great Anatomist, Simon Paulli no less an Herbalist, Olaus and Wilhelmus Wormius, and Borrichius, who was excellent for his Chemistry? In the Law, there have been eminent men, as Petrus Resenius, Cosmus Bornemand, Claudius Plumius, &c. As to the Mathematicks, Tycho Brahe^c was followed very successfully by his scholar Longomontanus and Geo. Hilarius, &c.

^c This celebrated astronomer (descended of an illustrious family originally of Sweden, but settled in Denmark) was born Dec. 14, 1546, at Knudstorp, near Helsingbourg. - He died Oct. 24, 1601.

In Philosophy and Philology, few have excelled the great Borrichius^d; and besides him, Bartholus Bartholinus, Arnoldus Rhumanus, and others. Nor does Denmark want Historians, as Wormius, Petrus Resenius, Virtus Beringius, Claudius Lycander, and the lately deceased young gentleman Thomas Bartholinus. As for Poetry, it began in the Danish language with the proverbial rhimes of Lollius, and the satires of Scanus, and the eclogues of Virgil, turned into the Danish language by Petrus Parvus Ripensis, and by the translation of the Psalms of Du Bartas by Christianus Arreboe: but its perfection increased with the rules given by Corvinus in his "Heptachordum" and his "Rythmologia Danica," by Severinus Pauli Gothlandus in his "Prologia Vernacula," and several other Authors. Severinus Torchillius, with the beauty and sweetness of his style, advanced this improvement; whereas Bording did the same by his strength and majesty, and Johannes Wilhelmus as much with his "Hexameron," in which there appeared a decent and becoming gravity. These were followed by Kingo, Schefted, Matthias Wormius, Andreas Claudianus, Lundius, Gernerus, and others, whose works may promise them fame and immortality. The ladies come in likewise for their share in this glory. Tycho Brahe's sister, and especially Dorothea Engelcrehtia, may contend with the famous Poetresses of the ancients. The Lady Brigitta Tot has translated Seneca the Philosopher into the Danish tongue, with all the elegance any language is capable of; to shew that the ruggedest philosophy of the Stoicks must submit, when the fair sex is pleased to conquer. It would be too tedious to enumerate all the Danish poets who have written, from Hiarne and Saxo Grammaticus, down to this time. Borrichius has done it, and given their characters in a very pretty dissertation; and Fredericus Rostgaard, an ingenious young gentleman, has made a collection of six of them, printed in two duodecimo volumes in Leyden, in 1693. Albertus, Hopnerus, and Aagardus, have their beauties: but Vitus Beringius has a peculiar easiness; and his masque of "The Rape of the Sabines," written in several sorts of Latin verse, has much variety,

^d One of the most learned men of his age. He was the son of a Lutheran minister, and was born April 27, 1626. At the university for Copenhagen, he applied himself to various studies, but particularly to physic; and was appointed professor of poetry, chemistry, and botany. From

variety, and must have given great diversion in the representation of it. Harderus, at writing epigrams, has a great quickness of wit; and the English, among whom he lived some years, are particularly obliged to him for his ingenious verses made in commendation of their language. As for Borrichius, it is enough to say, that his poetry equals his other performances.

There are still living and flourishing in Denmark Wandalinus the son, Masius, Caspar Bartholinus, Oligerus and Janus Jacobæus, Olaus Romerus, Paul Vindingius, John Brunsmannus, and many others; who deserve no less praise than the deceased, if their modesty would permit it to be given them.

Their learning is preserved and cultivated among them, by their public examinations, disputations; and lectures in all arts and sciences; and their want of printed translations shews their very great improvement: for the Danes, generally understanding Latin, English, French, Italian, and German languages, have no occasion for them; and yet in the public library there are abundance of translations of all sorts, of both ancient and modern authors: Printing is indeed much dearer than in Holland and Germany; which is the reason why the "Atlas Danicus" of Petrus Resenius lies fairly written in the library; the nobility and gentry have likewise their libraries in very good order; and there is nothing that I can find wanting, but satirical pamphlets and seditious libels.

The Author says, "there is no invention here, or tolerable imitation of what is brought in to them by strangers," p. 255: But I cannot believe it, when I hear that Thomas Bartholinus^e has

November 1660; to October 1666, he spent entirely on his travels, through Germany, Holland, England, France, and Italy; and contracted an intimacy with the most eminent men in each kingdom. On his return to Denmark, he resumed his professorship; was made a counsellor in the supreme council of justice in 1686, and of the royal chancery in 1689. He died Oct. 3, 1690.

^e Born at Copenhagen, Oct. 20, 1616; he died Dec. 4, 1680.—His father (named Caspar) was eminently distinguished both as a physician and a divine. He was born Feb. 12, 1585, and was remarkable for his early capacity. In his thirteenth year, he composed Greek and Latin orations; and pronounced them publicly. He was offered the professorship of anatomy at Naples, and of Greek at Sedan; but refused both. He took his doctor's degree in physick at Padua in 1618. On his return to

Copen-

has found the *vasa lymphatica*; as his son Caspar, still living, has done one *ductus salivaris*; and Borrichius found several new ways in chemistry. The round steeple of Longomontanus is a great piece of ingenuity and architecture, as likewise the Bremer Holm, and the great work on Christian's-haven. We have several ornaments of the city of London carved by a Danish master ^f. And whosoever will not believe their skill in musick may be convinced of the contrary by the harp of Signor Arnoldo.

But what need I speak farther of the Danes? The very Islanders, whose country was the Thule of the ancients, are not without their learning. Their Law-book in their own language has several things conformable to the great wisdom of the Imperial laws, as Angrimus tells us. "Konunga Sagurue" contains their History. "Edda and Scalda" gives an account of their ancient philosophy and poetry, shews the art and fable of the one, and the misery of the other. They have likewise chronology from 740 to 1295. Nor are they wanting in the more refined arts of

Copenhagen, he was appointed professor of the Latin tongue, and in 1613 professor of medicine; which having held eleven years, he was seized with a severe fit of illness; in which he vowed, if he should recover, to apply himself to no other study than divinity; and he kept his promise. He was appointed professor of divinity, March 12, 1624; and had the canonry of Roschild. He died July 13, 1629.

^f This was Caius Gabriel Cibber, a native of Holstein, who came into England some time before the Restoration. He was the son of a cabinet-maker to the King of Denmark, and was born at Hensbury in the year 1630. Discovering a talent for sculpture, he was sent to Rome at his Sovereign's expence. After his arrival in England, he worked for John Stone. He had the appointment of carver to the King's closet; and died in the year 1700, near the age of 70, leaving amongst other children the late Poet Laureat Colley Cibber. The most capital of his Works are the two figures of raving and melancholy Madness, before the front of Bedlam. The *bas reliefs* on two sides of the Monument are of his hand, as is one of the two fine vases at Hampton Court, said to be done in competition with a foreigner who executed the other; but nobody has pointed out Cibber's. He also carved most of the statues of the Kings round the Royal Exchange, and that of Sir Thomas Gresham in the Piazza beneath. The first Duke of Devonshire employed him much at Chatsworth; where a great many of his performances are to be seen. He also built the Danish Church in London; and was buried there himself, with his second wife, for whom a monument was erected in 1696.

poetry and comedy, as may appear by the "Drama Eroticon;" and the verses made in the Islandish tongue, and about the beginning of this century, upon Christian Friis the chancellor of Denmark. Runolphus Jonas, having studied the Islandish language, found it so full, proper, and expressive of the Latin, especially the thoughts and beauties of Virgil and Horace, that he thought himself bound in justice to compose a Grammar for the more easy attaining of it; which he printed, and has been since re-printed at Oxford with Dr. Hickes's Saxon Grammar. But to go yet farther: even Greenland has its annals; and the parts which are farthest North are not without some pretensions to the *Belles Lettres*.

When he comes to the University of Copenhagen, he compares it, p. 253, with these of England; which may exceed it. However, in respect of other foreign Universities, it yields to few; either for its buildings, revenues, or students. The auditories, colleges, and other edifices, belonging to this university, are as good and substantial as any houses, except the palaces, in Copenhagen; and the professors have fine and convenient houses allotted for their residence. The revenues likewise are considerable, both for the maintaining of scholars that study at home, or travel abroad. There are several colleges, as that called Collegium Regium built by King Christian IV, where a hundred students have their lodgings, to which belongs another house, called Communitas Regia, where as many have their diet, and during their meals have frequent exercises.

There is also Collegium Walkendorphianum, founded by a Danish nobleman; and Collegium Medicæum, founded by Dr. Borrichius; splendidly endowed for sixteen fellows in each of them. There are several exhibitions likewise for scholars, some to reside and some to travel, which they call *Stipendia*, as *Stipendium Frisianum*, *Scheelianum*, *Winstrupianum*, *Hopnerianum*, &c.

With these assistances, the University flourishes; and it receives encouragement from his Majesty, who was particularly pleased to be present at an act performed upon his birth-day, in the year 1691, when the Rector Dr. Oligerus Jacobæus made him a speech, to thank him for some favours conferred upon the University. For, since Pliny and Pacatus's time, panegyrics have been thought due to good Princes; and if a King will do great things, he must

pardon

pardon his subjects when gratitude makes them eloquent in the relation of them.

There was formerly another University, at Sora; but, p. 256, "the King had occasion for its revenues; and in its stead there is "only a small Grammar-school erected." It was ruined by the Swedes in the late wars, and pillaged of its libraries and all things else that belonged to it; so that the King of Denmark has thought fit to let it be a school only, and in its room has erected an academy in Copenhagen, where young gentlemen and persons of quality learn riding and several exercises, as well as other sciences. This has its professors, and was solemnly inaugurated upon the King's birth-day in 1692.

The provisions for the poor are regular and considerable. Hospitals there are in every city, very good and sufficient: nor shall he shew many examples of such as have been diverted to other uses, p. 257; and especially "not public ones."

The Author concludes this Chapter with a very great encomium of the Danish people, p. 257; "where every one keeps "the ordinary beaten road of sense; and you see no madmen, "natural fools, fanciful folks, or enthusiasts;" for these are the people that generally create uneasiness and disturbances. And I will assure the Author, that, ever since I first read his Book, when I have been troubled with "a fanciful fool" that I could not in good manners get rid of, I have often wished myself in Denmark.



THE CONCLUSION.

THE Author's conclusion is a panegyrick upon Popery, France, and Turkey.

Popery has this to say for itself, "That it is not the only religion that introduces slavery; for he is persuaded that other "religions, and particularly the Lutheran, succeed as effectually "in this design," p. 258. Besides, Popery has a farther plea, "That King James's attempt to bring it into England was the "principal thing which rescued our liberties from being swallowed up," p. 259. But the third thing excellent in it is, "because the dependance which the Romish clergy have on the "church of Rome causes often a clashing of interests, and derogates from the entire obedience the subject owes to the prince,"

p. 260. So that whereas he says, p. 136, "Popery has been the darling of many monarchs, upon the account of introducing slavery;" it is this Author's darling, because it raises "wars and tumults."

France is put next into the scale with Denmark, and made to outweigh it, "because that King's subjects are better treated; and there is a *Namè* of a parliament at Paris, and a formal demand of a benevolence, which they have not the power to deny," p. 261. But the true reason is, "because, the King of France having quarreled with the court of Rome, *his* clergy (if he were reduced to a lower ebb) might produce divisions and disturbances." So, in this Author's opinion, France is happier than Denmark, because there is greater probability that it may lie under the misfortunes of a civil war.

Then comes Turkey; which has suffered by some writers, but, he says, will scarce seem to deserve it, if compared with Denmark; "for the Turks have conquered the Christians, and have a sort of barbarous right to use them ill: yet they never persecute them upon account of conscience. They suffer them for the most part to inhabit their own lands; it is true, the propriety of all lands is in the Grand Seignior; but whether it be not better to be only a farmer at an easy rent, than to have the name of a proprietor without a comfortable subsistence, he leaves the Reader to judge," p. 262. The Alcoran, or Turkish law, declares the barbarous right which our Author mentions, in these words: "When you meet with infidels, cut off their heads, kill them, take them prisoners, bind them, till either you think fit to give them liberty, or they pay their ransom." Sir Paul Rycaut is an Author of credit, who describes to us that sort of toleration which the Turks give the Christian religion: "They know they cannot force mens wills and consciences, nor captivate their minds as well as bodies: but what means may be used to render them contemptible, to make them poor, their lives uncomfortable, and the interest of their religion weak and despicable, are practised with divers arts and tyranny; their toleration of Christianity is rather to afflict and persecute it, than any grant of favour and dispensation." The Grand Seignior may take their estates from them if he pleases whilst they live; and all people know there is no such thing as inheritance of land in Turkey at their death. Let therefore the Reader
judge,

judge, what Christian would not rather live in Turkey, than enjoy the free use of the Protestant Religion, and have his property secured inviolably to himself and heirs, as he may do in Denmark.

“Children are indeed in Turkey forced away from their poor Christian parents;” but, says the Author, “it is for their worldly profit: and so, bating the point of religion, it is a far less mischief to deprive parents of their children, than to leave a charge upon their hands after having taken away the possibility of nourishing and educating them,” p. 263. I profess, upon reading this paragraph, I enquired how many children were starved every week in Copenhagen; and whether there were not greater quantities that died for want throughout all Scania. I asked whether there were not abundance of famished infants, that their parents would be glad to part with for skeletons upon reasonable terms. But, being resolved, that there was pap and milk-porridge, and the like, in those places; and that the children, when they cried, had as much bread and butter as is usual in other countries; I resolved with myself, that my children should rather go to Denmark, with all its inconveniences, than be circumcised or made eunuchs, upon the hopes of coming one day to be *caimacan*, or grand visir. I wonder most how our Author ever came to like Turkey; since I do not find that he has any hopes or assurances from the musti, that any rebellion shall be raised there speedily.

Come we now to the grand query, “Whether matters are like to last at the same rate they are now at in Denmark?” p. 264. Our Author would willingly have it resolved in the negative; and gives important reasons why it should be so: and more important why it should not be so. Let us see his self-encounter at *pro* and *con*, and the mighty tumults and bustles raised in our Author’s “fallacious judgement,” p. 264.

First, “That natural love of liberty, eminent in the ancient Goths and Vandals, persuade him to think of a change,” *ib.* But, alas! the love of liberty (which was that of knight-errantry and rambling to seek their fortunes in foreign countries) being now quite extinct in the North, they find sufficient conveniences at home, where obedience to their prince secures their ease, and is preferred by them before “those brisk traverses” (as he calls them) which “commotions would occasion,” p. 267. So love of liberty might do something, but that duty prevails. Well,

but again, "may not the freshness and newness of this alteration "of their condition produce an alteration in the government?" p. 265. Why, truly no; because he finds it to have little or no influence upon the people, who are wonderfully well pleased both with one and the other. So that, if the father should propose any methods of change to his son, "he would not be heard "by him with patience," p. 268. But, however, to try again: "What should hinder the Swedes, who have their eye upon "Denmark, from introducing liberty?" p. 266. Why truly, "they use their own subjects so ill, and there is such a fixt "hatred betwixt these two nations, that the Danes are resolved to "keep them out as long as they are able," p. 268. The last hope then is "in the numerousness of the royal family; for, there "being four princes, it will be rare if concord be maintained "among them all," p. 266. And thence something in favour of liberty might arise. It is a thousand pities that matters should not be brought to this pass: but such is the wickedness of this cursed soil, "that those jealousies which use to reign in the families of princes are not so common nor fatal in these parts as "elsewhere," p. 270. Besides, there is a terrible thing, called "Unity of Religion," p. 268, which spoils all manner of hopes, and "cuts away the very root of sedition." So then the sum of the grand controversy amounts to this, That the government of Denmark might be shaken, were it not supported by a firm security from foreign attempts; by a mutual concord in the royal family; by the ease, content, loyalty, and religion of the subject; in a word, by all the blessings and cements which make governments "happy," and consequently will render this of Denmark "fixt and durable." Since nothing hitherto will do the work; what if this Author could get his "Account" translated into the Danish tongue? Might not that, when published, have "so "blessed an effect," as to occasion a change, not only "in their "condition, but also in their masters?" Why, truly, whatever his aim may have been nearer home, and though it has been printed in English, yet he has not persuaded his countrymen to endeavour an alteration in either of theirs. So that, if the present state of both kingdoms be *fixt* and *durable*, then his Book (poor Gentleman!) has lost its design, and he his labour!

DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD,

RELATING TO

The present CONTROVERSY

CONCERNING

The Epistles of PHALARIS:

To which are prefixed,

A Short ACCOUNT of that famous CONTROVERSY;

And Two LETTERS from Dr. KING
to the Honourable CHARLES BOYLE.

To which is also annexed,

ANOTHER DIALOGUE OF THE DEAD,
of an earlier Date, and on a different Subject.

The "Dialogues of the Dead, &c." were written in self-defence;
and, I presume, with modesty.

Dr. King's Preface to his Miscellanies.

" Nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem
 " Lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt.
 " Hic, quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,
 " Secreti celant calles, et myrtea circum
 " Sylva tegit. Curæ non ipsâ in morte relinquunt."

VIRGIL, *Æneid.* lib. vi. ver. 440.

Not far from thence, the Mournful Fields appear,
 So call'd from lovers that inhabit there.
 The souls, whom that unhappy flame invades,
 In secret solitude and myrtle shades,
 Make endless moans, and, pining with desire,
 Lament too late their unextinguish'd fire. DRYDEN'S Transf.

" Hic genus antiquum Teuceri, pulcherrima proles,
 " Magnanimi heroës, nati melioribus annis,
 " Ilusque, Assaracûsque, et Trojæ Dardanus auctor.
 " Arma procul, currusque virum miratur inanes.
 " Stant terrâ defixæ hastæ, passimque soluti
 " Per campum pascuntur equi. Quæ gratia currum
 " Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
 " Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos." Ibid. ver. 648,

Here found they Teucer's old heroic race;
 Born better times and happier years to grace.
 Assaracus and Ilus here enjoy
 Perpetual fame, with him who founded Troy.
 The chief beheld their chariots from afar;
 Their shining arms and coursers train'd to war.
 Their lances fix'd in earth, their steeds around,
 Free from their harness, graze the flowery ground.
 The love of horses which they had alive,
 And care of chariots after death survive. DRYDEN.

A SHORT ACCOUNT

O F

THE CONTROVERSY ON PHALARIS.

ON the death of Mr. Justel, Dr. Richard Bentley* was nominated keeper of the Royal Library at St. James's: his warrant for that place passed the Secretary's office Dec. 23, 1693; and he had his patent in April 1694. It was about this time, and upon this occasion, that the famous dispute between him and the honourable Mr. Boyle, whether the Epistles of Phalaris were genuine or not, in some measure, at first took rise; which occasioned so many books and pamphlets, and made so much noise in the world. It may be of use, therefore, to give an account of the motives and rise of this dispute.

The zeal of Dr. Aldrich^f, dean of Christ Church, in advising the young students to publish editions of the classics, is well known; a zeal, which, however it may have been censured, was undoubtedly on many accounts commendable, and was of some use and credit to the young editors. Amongst other publications, he desired Mr. Boyle ‡ to put out a new edition of Phalaris^h, who readily set about it; but, wanting to consult a Ms. Phalaris in the King's Library, sent to Mr. Bennet, Bookseller in London, to get him the Ms. by applying for it to Dr. Bentley in his name. After earnest solicitation, and great delaysⁱ for many months, Mr. Bennet at last got possession of the Ms.; who, imagining there was no great hurry to return it, did not immediately set the Collator [Mr. Gibson] to work upon it. But Dr. Bentley being to go a journey into Worcester-shire at that time for six months; about six days after the Ms. had been

* See some particulars of Dr. Bentley, vol. III. p. 297.

^f Of whom, see vol. III. p. 297.

‡ This young nobleman had already published "The Life of Lyfander," from the Greek of Plutarch. See more of him, vol. III. p. 297.

^h See Boyle against Bentley, p. 2.

ⁱ In the Epistles of Phalaris examined, the Doctor asserts, he had it in a month after he was Library-keeper; and that it was offered voluntarily, p. xviii. also p. 66: and says, he informed him how soon he should want it; p. xxi. and 66.

delivered, he called for it again, and would by no means be prevailed upon to let Mr. Bennet have the use of it any longer, though he told him the collation was not perfected ^k; and denied his request in a very rude manner ^l, throwing out many slighting and disparaging expressions, both of Mr. Boyle and the work.

This is the case as told by Mr. Bennet, Dr. King, Mr. Boyle, &c. who, thinking himself ill used, toward the end of his Preface, where he is giving some account of the edition of Phalaris, and the Ms. consulted in it, added the following words: *Collatas etiam (vid. Epistolas) curavi usque ad Epist. XL. cum manuscriptorum in Bibliothecâ Regiâ, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro singulari suâ humanitate negavit.* "I likewise gave orders," says he, "to have the Epistles collated with the Ms. in the King's Library; but my Collator was prevented from going beyond the Fortieth Epistle by *the singular humanity* of the Library-keeper, who refused to let me have any further use of the Ms. ^m." The Epistles being published, Dr. Bentley sends a letter (as he says) the very day that he saw Mr. Boyle's new Phalaris in the hands of a person of honour to whom it had been presented, while the rest of the impression was not yet published, to Mr. Boyle at Oxford, to give him a true information of the whole matter; wherein, as Mr. Boyle acknowledgⁿ, having expressed himself with great civility, he represented the matter of fact quite otherwise than he had heard it; expecting that, upon the receipt of the letter, he would put a stop to the publication of the book, till he had altered that passage, and printed the page anew; which might have been done in one day, at the expence of five shillings. He says, he did not expressly desire Mr. Boyle to take out that passage, and re-print the whole leaf; thinking that was too low a submission. To which letter, Mr. Boyle says, he immediately returned a civil answer, to this effect: "That Mr. Bennet, whom he had employed to wait upon the Doctor in his name, gave him such an account of his reception, that he had reason to apprehend himself affronted; and since he could make

^k The Doctor denies ever hearing the collation was not perfected; affirming, that the whole Ms. would not take up above four hours collating, p. xxvi.

^l Boyle against Bentley, p. 3.

^m In the Preface to Mr. Boyle's edition of Phalaris.

ⁿ Boyle against Bentley, p. 4.

no other excuse to the Reader for not collating the King's Ms. but because it was denied him, he thought he could do no less than express some repentment for that denial; that he should be very much concerned if Mr. Bennet had dealt so with him as to mislead him in his account; and, if that appeared, should be ready to take some opportunity of begging his pardon; expressing himself (Mr. Boyle says) in such a manner, that the Doctor might understand he meant to give him satisfaction as publicly as he had injured him."

Here the matter rested for two years and a half after the edition of Phalaris; when Dr. Bentley, in an Appendix to Mr. Wotton's Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, inserted his Dissertation on the Epistles of Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Epistles of Æsop; asserting that the Epistles which had been ascribed to Phalaris for so many years past were spurious, and the production of some Sophist; and, partly in anger for the sting in Mr. Boyle's Preface to them, falls foul with some warmth on Mr. Boyle's new edition and version; saying, he had foolishly busied himself about a contemptible and spurious author, and had made a bad book worse by a very ill edition of it, &c. &c.º; and, in part of the book, justifies himself as to the affair of the Ms. in these words: "A Bookseller came to me, in the name of the EDITORS, to beg the use of the manuscript: it was not then in my custody; but, as soon as I had the power of it, I went voluntarily and offered it him; bidding him tell the Collator not to lose any time, for I was shortly to go out of town for two months. It was delivered, used, and returned. Not a word was said by the bearer; nor the least suspicion in me that they had not finished the collation P."

Thus Dr. Bentley puts the affair in a quite different light by his assertions; which are replied to, and that reply again answered, and so on, till the whole is so perplexed and confounded, that there is no judging of, or coming at, the truth and reality of the affair. We may however adjust these accounts, and bring their differences somewhat nearer to a balance, by considering

º Dr. Bentley's Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris, *spasim*.

P *Ibid.* p. 68.

¶ The matter, being confounded with many flat contradictions, may properly be reduced to this short question, "Utri creditis, Quirites? Dr. Bentley, or Mr. Bennet?"

the distance of time, viz. full three years from the beginning of this transaction to the end of the controversy, and the partiality with which each must naturally recall to remembrance his own words, actions, and behaviour. As to the real affair, viz. the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris, it is of too great length to interfere in at present: we shall only add, that the Doctor is not now imagined (whatever he might then be out of partiality to a shining young Nobleman) to have the worst of the argument, or to have handled it without some merit and applause as to wit and humour; though Mr. Boyle only, as the humour and caprice of the age then ran, received congratulations on this occasion. Thus Dr. Garth †,

“ So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,

“ And to a BENTLEY 'tis we owe a BOYLE.”

Another very learned and very judicious writer, Dr. Henry Felton, said a very just and a very handsome thing upon this dispute ‡: “ Perhaps Mr. Boyle's book will be charged upon some Sophist too: yet, taking it for genuine at present, if we must own Dr. Bentley is the *better critick*, we must acknowledge his antagonist is much the *genteeler writer*.”

The Doctor had also some wags who were his enemies *even at Cambridge*, by drawing his picture in the hands of Phalaris's guards, who were putting him into their master's bull; and out of the Doctor's mouth came a label with these words, “ I had rather be ROASTED than BOYLED.” The inimitable Dean of St. Patrick's also, in his Tale of a Tub, has some strokes on Dr. Bentley on this occasion, particularly in the episode on the Battle of the Books, where, on account of the Doctor's Dissertation on Phalaris, &c. being annexed to Mr. Wotton's Reflections on Learning, and their being great friends, he makes Mr. Wotton and Dr. Bentley standing side by side, in each other's defence, to be both transfixed to the ground by one stroke of the javelin of Mr. Boyle; and this he heightens by the simile of a Cook's spitting a brace of woodcocks.

The Reader will not be displeas'd at a list of the books published in this debate, in the order in which they appear'd.

† In The Dispensary.

‡ Dissertation on reading the Classics, and forming a just Style.

About 1694, Mr. Boyle published his very fine edition of "Phalaris," with the Greek text, translated in a nervous and classical Latin style.

About two years and a half after this, in 1697, Dr. Bentley published his "Dissertation upon the Epistles of Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, Phalaris, and the Fables of Æsop," at the end of the second edition of Mr. Wotton's "Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning;" but in the third edition, in 1705, the Dissertation on Phalaris, being of considerable bulk, is omitted; because afterwards printed by Dr. Bentley entire, and annexed with great additions to his further defence of it, in answer to Mr. Boyle: but what concerned the Epistles of Themistocles, Socrates, Euripides, and the Fables of Æsop, being printed no where else, is re-printed in that and the other editions of Mr. Wotton's book.

A letter of Dr. King's, on this subject, Oct. 13, 1697, is inserted at the end of this account †.

In 1698 came out, "Dr. Bentley's Dissertations on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop examined, by the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq;" a work more commonly known by the title of "Boyle against Bentley." The publication of this book was hindered by Mr. Boyle's business, which sent him into, and detained him in, Ireland; else he had answered Dr. Bentley's Dissertation sooner ‡. A third edition of this book was published "with some additions," so early as 1699; and a fourth in 1742.

In 1699, followed Dr. Bentley's answer to the above, commonly known by the name of "Bentley against Boyle;" a curious piece, interspersed with a great deal of true wit and humour. This is the volume to which Dr. King alludes, in his *second* Letter to Mr. Boyle §. It is at present a scarce book; and we can assure the curious, who have for some time expected it would be re-printed, that a new edition of it with some improvements will soon be published: which will be followed, it is hoped, with the other pieces on this subject; the principal of which, beside those already mentioned, are the three following:

"Dialogues of the Dead, relating to the present Controversy concerning the Epistles of Phalaris. By the Author of the

† Printed in p. 141.

‡ As he tells us in the Preface.

§ Printed in p. 142.

z Printed in p. 144, & seqq.

“Journey to London &c.” These Dialogues abound with that grave banter, for which Dr. King is so peculiarly celebrated.

“A short Account of Dr. Bentley’s Humanity and Justice to those Authors who have written before him; with an honest Vindication of Thomas Stanley, Esq; and his Notes on Callimachus. To which are added some other Observations on that Poet; in a Letter to the Honourable Charles Boyle, Esq; with a Postscript, in relation to Dr. Bentley’s late Book against him. To which is added, an Appendix, by the Bookseller; wherein the Doctor’s Misrepresentations of all the Matters of Fact, wherein he is concerned, in his late Book about Phalaris’s Epistles, are modestly considered; with a Letter from the Honourable Charles Boyle on that Subject, 1699,” 8vo. [There is some reason to think this also is the production of Dr. King; though we have not proof enough to admit it in this collection.]

The last tract we shall mention is, “A short Review of the Controversy between Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley, with suitable Reflections upon it; and the Doctor’s advantageous Character of himself at full length.” 1701. 8vo.

Y An accurate edition of Callimachus was published, in 1697, by the learned Grævius, to whom Dr. Bentley sent over his animadversions and remarks, great part of which he is charged (Short Account, &c. p. 29.) with having stolen from Ms. remarks of the learned Mr. Stanley, which were lent him by Sir Edward Sherburn. How this matter stands we shall not pretend to say; but, in justice to this eminent critick, must observe, what that very author was obliged in honour to yield as his undoubted right: “It ought to be acknowledged that Dr. Bentley has made some additions to Mr. Stanley’s collections;”—“it ought to be confessed that Dr. Bentley has made some additions of his own to what was collected to his hands so readily;” besides a number of observations which are granted as his own.—The learned of other nations have paid the Doctor many handsome compliments on this occasion.



FIRST LETTER TO MR. BOYLE^z.

S I R,

I AM bound in justice to answer your request, by endeavouring, as far as I can, to recollect what passed between Mr. Bennet and Dr. Bentley, concerning a Ms. of the Epistles of Phalaris. I cannot be certain as to any other particulars than that, among other things, the Dr. said, "that if the Ms. were collated, it would be worth nothing for the future." Which I took the more notice of, because I thought a Ms. good for nothing unless it were collated. The whole discourse was managed with such insolence, that, after he was gone, I told Mr. Bennet, "that he ought to send Mr. Boyle word of it; that, for my own part (I said then what I think still), I did not believe that the various readings of any book were so much worth, as that a person of Mr. Boyle's honour and learning should be used so scurvily to obtain them." That scorn and contempt which I have naturally for pride and insolence makes me remember that which otherwise I might have forgotten. Believe me, Sir, to be

Your faithful friend, and humble servant,

Doctors Commons,
O&. 13, 1697.

W. KING.

[This Letter was written in Dr. Bentley's Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris and the Fables of Æsop; and is printed in "Boyle against Bentley," p. 8.]

^z Dr. Bentley appears to have been severely stung by this short Letter, if we may judge from the severity with which he has treated our Author, in the Preface to his Dissertation, 1699, p. xxviii—xxxv. "Let us hear the Doctor's testimony (says the illustrious Critick); the air and spirit of it is so very extraordinary; the virulency and insolence so far above the common pitch; that it puts me in mind of one *Rupilius King*, a great ancestor of the Doctor's, commended to posterity by Horace under this honourable character,

"Proscripti Regis Rupili jus atque venenum,

"The filth and venom of Rupilius King.

"And if the Doctor do not inherit the estate of Rupilius, yet the whole world must allow that he is heir of his virtues."

SECOND

SECOND LETTER TO MR. BOYLE.

GIVE me leave, Sir, to tell you a secret—that I have spent an whole day upon Dr. Bentley's late volume of scandal and criticism^a; for every one may not judge it for his credit to be so employed. He thinks meanly, I find, of my reading; as meanly as I think of his sense, his modesty, or his manners. And yet, for all that, I dare say, I have read more than any man in England besides *him* and *me*; for I have read his Book all over.

If you have looked into it, Sir, you have found, that a person, under the pretence of criticism, may take what freedom he pleases with the reputation and credit of any gentleman; and that he need not have any regard to another man's character, who has once resolved to expose his own.

It was my misfortune once in my life to be in the same place with Dr. Bentley, and a witness to a great deal of his rude and scurrilous language: which he was so liberal of, as to throw it out at random in a *public* shop; and is so silly now as to call it *eves-dropping* in me, because he was so noisy, and I was so near, that I could not help hearing it.

You desired me, at some years distance, to recollect what passed at that meeting; and I obeyed your commands. Shall I reckon it an advantage, that Dr. Bentley, who disputes the other testimonies, falls in entirely with mine? I would, if I were not apprehensive that on that very account it might be one step farther from being credited.

However, such is his spite to me, that he confirms the truth of all I told you. For the only particular I could call to mind he grants, with some slight difference in the expression. And as to the general account I gave of his rudeness and insolence, he denies it indeed; but in so rude and insolent a manner, that there is no occasion for me to justify myself on that head.

I had declared, it seems, that he said, "The Ms. of Phalaris would be worth nothing, if it were collated." He sets me right; and avers, the expression was, "That, after the various lections were once taken, and printed, the Ms. would be like a squeezed orange, and little worth for the future." The similitude of "a squeezed orange" is indeed a considerable cir-

^a The Dissertation on Phalaris, 1699.

cumstance, which I had forgotten; as I doubtless did several others. But, for all that, I remember the general drift and manner of his discourse, as well as if all the particular expressions were present to me. Just as I know his last Book to be a disingenuous, vain, confused, unmannerly performance; though, to my happiness, hardly any of his awkward jests or impertinent quotations stick by me.

I had owned it to be my opinion, "that a Ms. was worth nothing *unless* it were collated." The Doctor cunningly distinguishes upon me; and says, "It is worth nothing indeed to the rest of the world; but it is better for the owner, if a price were to be set upon it." I beg his pardon for my mistake. I thought we were talking of books in the way of scholars; whereas he answers me like a bookseller, and as if he *dealt in* Mss. instead of *reading* them. For my part, I measure the value of these kind of things, from the advantage the publick may receive from them, and not from the profit they are likely to bring in to a private owner. And therefore I have the same opinion of the Alexandrian Ms. (which, he says, "he keeps in his lodgings") now, as I should have had before the Editors of the English Polyglott published the collation of it; though it may not perhaps bear up to the same price in St. Paul's Church-yard, or at an auction. But I hope, if it be *safely* kept, it need never come to the experiment.

As to the particular reflections he has cast on me, it is no more than I expected. I could neither hope nor wish for better treatment from one that had used you so ill. It is reputable both to men and books to be ill spoken of by him; and a favourable presumption on their side, that there is something in both, which may chance to recommend them to the rest of the world. It is in the power of every little creature, to throw dirty language; but a man must have some credit himself in the world, before things he says can lessen the reputation of another. And if Dr. Bentley must be thus qualified in order to mischief me, I am safe from all the harm that his malice can do me. I am, Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

W. KING.

[This Letter was written in the "Short Account of Dr. Bentley's Humanity and Justice."]

O R I -

ORIGINAL ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE TEN FIRST

DIALOGUES OF THE DEAD.^b

TO THE READER.

THE following Dialogues were written by a Gentleman residing at Padua, upon some intelligence he received there of one Bentivoglio, a very troublesome Critick in the world. The Author wrote them to divert his spleen, after having had a taste of those criticisms. He was so kind as to send them to me, to make me some small amends for his absence. The freedom that is between us suffers me to let them go out of my hands in the dress that I received them; with a design to try whether other people may have the same opinion of him that I have. Adieu!

^b A most admirable Dissertation on the proper subjects for Dialogue-writing, and the manner in which it should be successfully executed, is prefixed to the Fourth Edition of Bp. Hurd's "Moral and Political Dialogues;" a work which is itself the best proof of the propriety of the rules it so accurately delineates.—Lord Lyttelton's "Dialogues of the Dead" have been also much and deservedly commended.



D I A L O G U E I.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

C H A R O N — L Y C O P H R O N.

LYCOPH. **W**H^Y, Charon, what did you bring hither last week?

CHARON. Ay, what indeed! I am like to lose my place for it. I hear there is such a stir among the Criticks, that the three judges have much ado to ratify bonds of arbitration between them. But pray tell me what I have done; for I am ignorant of my own crime.

LYCOPH. Why you brought over young Schrevelius; and he had with him the Works of the snarling Critick Bentivoglio.

CHAR. I cannot tell whose Works they were; but I am sure they were confounded heavy. They had like to have sunk my sculler.—But I hope the troubles are compos'd on this side the water.

LYCOPH. No, worse than ever; it is a mercy that no blood can be spilt among them; and, having no weapons, they cannot come to daggers-drawing.

CHAR. Pray what may be the reasons of their dissentions?

LYCOPH. Why, some are of your opinion, that indeed Bentivoglio is a *heavy* Writer; and say farther, “That he is too bulky, and too tedious; that he argues upon trifles with too great gravity, and manages serious things with as much lightness; that he has pillaged Authors to gain a reputation, but has so managed his contrivance that he has lost his end.” In short, there are mighty disputations whether he has least wit, judgement, or good-manners. Rhadamanthus is their umpire; who, finding the case difficult, has taken a considerable time to deliberate concerning it.

CHAR. But pray, Sir, what do you say to this affair?

LYCOPH. Why indeed I am not wholly impartial in this matter; for Bentivoglio has very much obliged me throughout his Works. He has imitated me even without reason; for, as it was my choice, so his natural genius leads him to be unintelligible.

gible. A man may as soon understand his Latin as his English, and *his* English as *my* Greek: *his* prose is as fantastic as *my* verse; and *my* prophecies carry more light with them than *his* demonstrations.

CHAR. Why then he may have more worth and learning in him than the generality of mortals can easily comprehend.

LYCOPH. That is possible: but it is harder to search for them than to dig in the mines of Potosi. The great Dionysius has found his worth; I mean, the same Dionysius, who, from being tyrant of Syracuse, became a school-master and a pedant. He, upon reading Bentivoglio's Dissertation upon Johannes Antiochenus^c, wherein he had started a new observation about the measures of Anapæstic verse, has called a hundred little youthful shades, that had formerly mis-spent their time through the negligence of their fathers and the fondness of their mothers, to come all under his correction, where, brandishing his wooden authority, he commands them to scan Anapæstic verses; and, if they find any verse ending with a short syllable, they are immediately, right or wrong, to correct it, under the severe penalty of committing two pages of Bentivoglio's Works to their memory. Buchanan, who was likewise a school-master of great sense and parts, though of much passion, has sent for a detachment of school-boys from Grotius, and another from Scaliger, which, with some numbers from his own country, and the moderns, he has drawn up against Dionysius: and this latter Squadron affirm, that the last syllable of an Anapæstic verse may be short, notwithstanding Bentivoglio's Dissertation. Proserpine only knows the event of these troubles; for, till this matter be decided, Poetry must lyefill, since in such dubious times no person can make an Anapæstic verse with any safety.

CHAR. Very true, Sir; a mistake in *such* a quantity may be of fatal consequence.

LYCOPH. But, Charon, the heat of my discourse had almost made me forget the very business I had with you. I have some requests to you from the Emperor Claudius: he is extremely enamoured with the Works of Bentivoglio; and has set forth his edict concerning some important matters, which, if you please, I will read to you: "CLAUDIUS, To the lovers of the *belles*

^c See Bentley's Dissertation on Phalaris, p. 132—145.

" *lettres*,

" *lettres*, greeting. All the world know how much I was con-
 " cerned, and what brave and valiant things I acted, for the
 " grandeur of the Roman Empire. But my greatest glory was
 " the adding of letters to the Roman alphabet; and it shall be
 " the utmost of my endeavours to establish the purity of the
 " languages, and the exactness of spelling, throughout all nations.
 " Therefore, considering the great service which the most famous
 " Bentivoglio has done his native country, by raising the credit of
 " several admirable proverbs; I do order all persons to use the
 " same as often or oftener than they have occasion; for nothing
 " can be more edifying than the following maxims—That Leucon
 " carries one thing, and his ass another^d—A man of courage and
 " spirit should not go with finger in eye to tell his story—A
 " bungling tinker makes two holes while he mends one^e.—I like-
 " wise, by the same authority, order, that, in all Books and Pre-
 " faces whatsoever, such words be used as have received the stamp
 " of that great Author; for I do declare and "concede," that
 " we ought to "repudiate" whatever is "commentitious;" but
 " that to "aliene" what is "vernacular" is the "putid negoce of
 " a timid idiom^f." I have moreover taken into my serious confi-
 " deration the duty of true spelling; and do order and command,
 " that no school-mistress, writing-master, gentleman, young
 " lady, or others, do, by virtue or under pretence of any
 " Metathesis, Syncope, Metastofichie, Synecdoche^g, or any other
 " figure whatsoever, presume to write "cruds" for "curds,"
 " "Delphos" for "Delphi," "ynuph" for "enough," "yf" for
 " "wife^h." But more particularly, that no one presume to use "co-
 " temporary" for "contemporary^k," the letter N being in that
 " place of the utmost importance. But he may with delight and
 " pleasure to his Readers transgress the rules of Orthography,
 " and use the word "cogratulate^l" in a jocosse sense, as it is ap-
 " plied in the Writings of the most excellent Author before men-
 " tioned. All this I establish, under the penalty of Bentivoglio's
 " irresistible criticism, and our utmost displeasure."—This edict
 Claudius desires may be set up beyond the Stygian Lake, that the
 Shades may know how to act when they come hither.

^d Diff. p. 75.^e P. 39.^f P. 75.^g P. 85.^h Farnaby's Rhetorick.ⁱ Diff. p. 92.^k P. 86.^l Ibid.

CHAR. Sir, your request shall be complied with: but I must make haste away; for you know I am expected with impatience. If these are the disputes of the persons of *belles lettres*, I am sure an honest skuller loses precious time and tide whilst he stays to hear them.



D I A L O G U E II.

IMPUDENCE: OR, THE SOPHIST.

PHALARIS—THE SOPHIST.

PHAL. I AM told lately, since the coming over of Schrevelius, wherever I go, that you lay claim to my Epistles, and say they were written by you.

SOPH. Perhaps I may have done so, Sir, without offence.

PHAL. Without offence! Shall a Prince be rifled of his honour by a Pedant? be told to his face that his Works are not his own? Daggers, bulls, and torments!

SOPH. Not so angry, good Sir: you know that here in the Shades all persons are equal. Besides, Sir, it was always my humour to plume myself with borrowed feathers; and I never knew that the cuckow did not lye-in as decently as other birds, though she never put herself to the trouble of building her nest. And besides, Sir, though Bentivoglio took whole passages from Nevelet and Vizzanius, yet they make no disturbance amongst the Shades—but here is such a stir because I am pleased to own your Epistles!

PHAL. Were you in the other world, you would not have dared to have talked so to me.

SOPH. Nay, were you in the other world, Bentivoglio would not have spoken as he has done of you.

PHAL. Impudence in perfection! Could such a wretch as thou wast be able to express such things as I have done? That “honour of learned men and esteem of good,” that “scorn of my enemies,” that “bounty to my friends,” that “knowledge of life, and contempt of death^m?” Do not my thoughts flow with

^m Sir William Temple's Essays.

freedom, and my native fierceness give vigour to my words, and animate all my expressions?

SOPH. These arguments might convince another person; and perhaps you wrote such a book indeed: but I have encouragement to take it upon me; and I will take it upon me.

PHAL. What are the reasons by which you will convince other people that my Epistles are yours?

SOPH. Look you, Sir, I am resolved to own them; and, however improbable the thing may be, I have a Doctor to stand by me. And then, Sir, I shall endeavour to pacify you with reasons, if that will do it. My arguments are from "the uncertainty of the time" in which you lived; and consequently of such persons who might be your "cotemporaries," because you know there could never have been two of the same name. Another argument I draw from the names of Sicilian towns and villages; which, amongst the variety of little commonwealths and changes of principalities, must needs be the most certain rule imaginable to judge of time by, because we know the greatest nations are in dispute concerning their own originals. Then you, who are a Dorian, pretend to write Attic, which is as absurd as if a Berwick-man should write English; and lastly, you have four "sayings," and six "words," that were not used till several ages after you were born, as I am credibly informed.

PHAL. Well, have you any more arguments?

SOPH. Yes, Sir; I shall throw you in one argument more, that must confound you. Throughout all your Epistles, "there is not one word relating to the old gentlewoman your Mother, which a man of your benevolence and affection to your family could hardly have omitted; and in your Letters to your Son, there is no mention made either of the young man's duty to his grandmother, or of her love to him; and in your Letters to your Wife, there is as great a silence about the mother's kindness to her daughter-in-law." Besides, "whereas all the ancients used to *date* their Letters, yours are without any note, place, or time, that one cannot tell where or when they were written."

PHAL. Radamanthus, grant me patience!

SOPH. Stay, Sir; but one word more.—You say the Epistles are "your own:" I say they are "my own;" and that Bentivoglio has proved them to be so, by arguments that are "his own."

* Diff. p. 520.

D I A L O G U E III.

M O D E R N A T C H I E V E M E N T S.

B U T C H E R — H E R C U L E S.

BUTCH. **W**ELL, for all your blustering, were we in the other world, I would not have turned my back to you; and, if I had had but a quarter-staff, I would have ventured you with your club for coming in with me.

HERC. Did not I cleanse the Augean stables, and conquer the bull of Marathon?

BUTCH. And I have staved and tailed at the Bank-side when the stoutest He would not venture. Was it not I that, when Tom Dove broke loose, and drove the mob before him, took him by the ring, and led him back to the stake, with the universal shouts of the company? Besides, I question whether you ever saw a bull-dog.

HERC. You talk of mean performances: but I subdued the Læstrigons, who used to banquet upon man's flesh; and destroyed horses, that, after they had eaten the meat from a human body, would crush the bones as other palfries do horse-beans. Perhaps, you never heard of these stories.

BUTCH. Not I.

HERC. No, not you! Do you know what Authors say? That "Phalaris longed to eat a child," and "at last came to devour sucking children, taking them from their mothers breasts to eat them;" and that "his own son did not escape his hunger?" Do you know in what Olympiad "the famous Emperor Xerxes butchered the Empress Atossa, sister to Cambyfes, wife to Darius, and his own natural mother, and then eat her?" No, not you! Your stature and strength of body makes you proud; but your ignorance in History renders you contemptible. Read the Works of the great Bentivoglio, that are lately come over, and be wiser.

BUTCH. I do not know any thing about your man-eaters; but I know when and where the fellow ran for the great bag-pudding, and eat it when he had done; and I am sure, if this story was well told, it would seem the more probable.

* At that time a principal amphitheatre, or bear-garden.

P. Diff. p. 512, 513.

† P. 536.

HERC. You enrage me! Now, by the Gods, I have taken the Thermo-dontiac belt from the Princess Thalestris.

BUTCH. Hold a little, good Sir; I have flung down the belt in Moor-fields, when never a Lincoln's-Inn-fields^r wrestler durst encounter me.

HERC. What think you of Hyllus, Lycon, and Plato, the Wrestlers, Cleanthes the Cuffer, and twenty more of them^s? Oh, the glory of the former ages! what racing, what running, what wrestling, what boxing at the Olympiads, the Pythic and Nemæan Games, when the oak, the pine, and parsley garlands remained the reward of their victories!

BUTCH. In truth, Sir, I believe the Cornish hugg would have puzzled the *art* of your philosophers; and that a prize at back-sword, with the other weapons, as dagger, faulchion, and the rest, may be as well worth admiration, as your hard-named *Lympiads* that you make such a rout with. Hereafter I would have all the wenches that win the smock at Astrop^t, and the fellows that get the hat and feathers throughout England by boxing and cudgel-playing, to be put in the Chronicle, and take place above the high-constable.

HERC. What can you have seen like the horse-racing in Greece; for, after the *apene*, which "was drawn by mules, and first was used at the Olympicks in the 70th Olympiad, was cried down in the 84th Olympiad," the race of horses was improved to admiration.

BUTCH. This may be true; but, as poor a fellow as I was, I could have laid my leg over a good piece of horse-flesh, and, with a hundred guineas in my pocket, have ridden to New-market, where Dragon, or Why-not, Honey-come-punch, or Stiff-Dick,

^r To a modern Reader, this allusion will appear strange. But Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, the largest and in many respects the most elegant Square in Europe, was for many years, even in the present century, the rendezvous of every species of vulgarity. Moor-fields still retains evident vestiges of having been sacred to the gymnastic exercises.

^s Diff. p. 52—54.

^t Still the famed scene of contention among the rustic Virgins — for

“ That linen veil, which pendent ruffles grace,

“ Of Indian muslin, or of Flanders lace;

“ White as the lily or the skin it hides,

“ Where charming Nature shines, and Love resides.” *Rape of Smock.*

should have run for it" against any Grecian horse that you or any of your forefathers could have produced.

HERC. You would still pretend to out-do the ancients; but let me tell you one thing which I did, which (I must own my thanks to Bentivoglio) is by him recorded to posterity. I had a mind to go to Erythræa^w, an island in the Western Ocean; and how do you think I got thither? "In a ship," you will say, No! "In a brazen ship?" No! "In a cauldron?" No! "In a brazen cauldron?" No! "In a golden bed?" No! "How then," you will say, "in the name of wonder?" "Why, in short, "I got the sun to lend me his golden cup to sail in;" and I scudded away as well as if I had had all the wind and sail imaginable.

BUTCH. And no such great matter at last! I remember, as I was boasting one day of my exploits to a good jolly Muscovite at the Bear-garden, he told me, that St. Nicholas^x came to their

^v These agile couriers of the last century must yield the palm, in the annals of British Olympicks, to the still superior fleetness of a Gimcrack or an Eclipse. Whether the present age be indebted for this superiority to the condescension of Senators converting themselves into Grooms, or simply to the matchless excellence of Wildman as a trainer, impartial Posterity must determine.

^w Diff. p. 114, 115, 116.

^x The Russians are great worshipers of pictures; and are affronted if the first thing they throw their eyes upon, when they enter a house, is not a saint. St. Nicholas, as their favourite, is always in a conspicuous part of the house. To this, the servants bow, and cross themselves, every morning and night, and always when they enter. They are wretchedly daubed, without any attempt at perspective. It is not uncommon to see the Virgin Mary with three hands in these pictures, two folded before her, and the child Jesus in the third; or to behold St. Joseph, sawing a great plank, and the child Jesus, with the glory round his head, and a broom in his hand, sweeping out the chips and saw-dust. The doctrine of Domoivoi is also very curious in Russia. The Domoivoi is the tutelar spirit of the house; something like our Fairies, or rather like the Lars at Rome. When a servant comes to a new place, the first time he is alone, he walks about the room, speaking to the walls, beseeching the Domoivoi to be good to him, not to displease his master and mistress, not to tie his hair in knots in the night, and not to dance upon him when he is in bed, &c. &c.—It is amazing to think how seriously the lower class of people will speak of such wretched things; and a master often loses a good servant, because "the Domoivoi plagues him!"

country

country falling upon a mill-stone; which I thought as humour-
some a passage as your cup. But, to be short and plain with you,
I have witnesses both on this side and the other side of Styx, that
saw me row myself from the Horse-ferry to the other side of the
water, in my own tray, with a couple of trenchers; and there is
“a tray” and “a mill-stone” for your “cup” and your “caul-
dron!”

HERC. I find you will have the last word.

BUTCH. Well, since he is gone, I think I may say, that the
persons who have lived lately are only wanting to themselves; and
that it is the negligence of our Ballad-singers that makes us to be
talked of less than others: for who almost, besides St. George,
King Arthur, Bevis, Guy, and Hickathrift, are in the Chroni-
cles?—Our great Scholars are so much taken up with such fel-
lows as this Hercules, Hyllus the Wrestler, Cleanthes the Cuffer,
Phalaris and Xerxes the Man-eaters, that they never mind “my
actions,” nor several other of their own country-mens.



D I A L O G U E IV.

SELF-LOVE; OR, THE BEAU,

RICARDO—NARCISSUS,

RIC. “AUGUSTUS died in a compliment, Tiberius in dis-
simulation, Vespasian in a jest, Galba with a sen-
tence, Severus in dispatch, and Narcissus in love.”

NARC. I think myself happy in my death, since it was in pur-
suance of so justifiable a passion as that of Self-love; for all the
world must own that I was charmingly beautiful.

RIC. Why, truly, I think that a Critick, as Bentivoglio for
example, has as much reason to value himself upon as you had, or
rather more. And, indeed, are not his Works full of himself? ?
And is he at all sparing in his own commendations? ? Does he
blush to hear himself praised? or rather does he not spread his
gayest feather to the best advantage; and then amplify, expatiate,
and comment, upon himself, that beloved subject^b? In short,

^y Lord Bacon, in his Essays.

^z Diss. Pref. p. i—cxii.

^a P. 1—549.

^b Pref. p. lxxx—lxxxiv. Diss. p. 59, 60.

has he not done himself "true honour," by "his improvement of the *parodia* of the the salt-cellar ^c," and then "assuming that "warmth and haughtiness" which are companions of such as are conscious of their own merit? Well, I am satisfied you could never have been so handsome, as he is learned and ingenious in his own eyes.

NARC. Might three pimples at once have seized my complexion, if you do not amaze a person of my fondness for my own accomplishments! Did not my perfections occasion me the envy of my sex?

RIC. And will not "even envy itself be forced to allow" that Bentivoglio's discovery concerning "Anapæsts is no inconsiderable one ^d:" And does not he speak truth, when he says the Criticks tell him, that *rumpantur ut ilia codris* ^e, "although "the codri burst with spleen, yet he will be esteemed by all that "cultivate humanity?"

NARC. All the nymphs addressed to me in the softest words, and most languishing expressions.

RIC. And can any thing be more tender than what the Criticks tell Bentivoglio, that "they keep his Epistles more carefully than "dried grapes ^f," or preserved pine-apples; that "he arrives to "the palate as soon as tasted, and is the very oglio of all musical "dainties ^g?"

NARC. Did not sighs and tears attend my neglect? and was not death the companion of my disdain?

RIC. And does not Bentivoglio's all-correcting-pen, when once drawn forth, make all the Criticks tremble? Is Vossius secure? is Scaliger without his faults? do not Stobæus and Pollux know their distance? nay, can even the Etymologicon or The Scholiast be then supposed to be unblameable ^h?

NARC. Echo declares the force of my charms; and, though a miserable, yet is a lasting, monument of my conquest.

RIC. Echo repeats only the last and dying sounds of sentences; whereas Bentivoglio knows that he has the full voice of Fame. He has received "thanks from all the lovers of polite learning ⁱ;"

^c Pref. p. ci, cii.

^d Diff. p. 133.

^e Pref. p. xlvi. lv.

^f Pref. p. liii. "Qui omnia tuo custodio diligentius Nigris Uvis."

^g Pref. p. lxxx. "Videbis hic, Lector studiose, musicarum cupidiarum "et aliud quod tuo palato simul ac gustâris, sat scio arridebit mirifice."

^h P. 281—283.

ⁱ Pref. p. lxviii, lxix.

and his worth has long ago reached these Shades, and has put the "Ghost of Reubenius" to an uncasefulness, to know how to return the obligations received from him.

NARC. The Gods took care that I should not be forgotten in the other world. Each Spring revives my flower, which preserves my name, and is the greatest beauty in the garlands of all nymphs that lament my absence.

RIC. But the great Bentivoglio has more sublime glory! What Emperors were flattered with when dead, that he has gained deservedly whilst living. "He is a star already;" and, if he proceeds in his learned labours, may become a constellation. He is revered by all, for being the "new and rising star," and "the brightest light of Britain^k;" whereas, Sir, for your flowers, a man may have a basket-full of you in the market for six pence.

NARC. Well, I will hide myself in the thickest shade of myrtles; there contemplate upon my own perfections, and every now and then in some neighbouring fountain (since I cannot fear a second death) gaze upon my own beauty. Farewell, fond Critick! Languish in thy misfortune; since thou dost not comprehend my worth, which I alone know how to value.

RIC. Alas, he flies! And now methinks I begin already to repent of what I have done.—How un sincere are all human pleasures! Something still intervenes, to tarnish the lustre of our triumphs.—I may have gained the better of Narcissus; but then I grieve to think that, after his example, some day or other, even my friend Bentivoglio's self-love may chance to be put out of countenance!



D I A L O G U E V.

THE DICTIONARY.

HESYCHIUS—GOULDMAN.

HESYCH. **O**H, Brother Gouldman! I am heartily glad to meet you. You must have heard the news. Bentivoglio has vindicated the worth and honour of all Dictionaries.

^k Pref. p. lxxix, lxxxii.

He has read "half of me;" and has made "honourable mention" of me in all his Works¹: he has "restored me" in "ten thousand places," and "collated me" with all the manuscripts in the world but those in the King of Poland's Library. Methinks you do not seem so pleased with the news as you ought to be. Are you not concerned for the wit, reputation, and honour, of one that can write a Dictionary? You seem as unconcerned as if you had no opinion of the matter.

GOULDM. Pr'ythee, Brother Hesy chius, do not trouble me with the story of a fellow that has read your labours; for I am persuaded that he must have a very small library, and little to do, that reads a Dictionary.

HESYCH. Not read a Dictionary! Why I knew a man that read all the volumes of Stephens's Thesaurus thrice over.

GOULDM. I thought Dictionaries had been made, not to have been read, but turned to. Besides, some are too voluminous. There came out in Arabia, some centuries ago, a Dictionary of three or four Folio's, which contains nothing else but the several parts of a *camel*, and the words that are properly used in the dressing and equipping of it. Do you think it would be worth while to make one of equal bulk concerning *horses*, for the use of the Europeans? How many grooms in The Meuse, or jockies in Smithfield, do you think would read it?

HESYCH. You are the most provoking shade that walks. What! no wit, breeding, complaisance, politicks, knowledge of men and manners, to be learned out of Dictionaries? Prove it, prove it. Hear him, hear him.

GOULDM. I grant that all wit, arts, genteel and mannerly conversation, are contained in Dictionaries, just as they are in the Alphabet; and, in some measure, more properly, because they contain words: but then the joining of them is the art our Dictionaries will never teach a man; for, suppose I was to discourse in Politicks: my first word I find in your 119th page, the second in the 204th, and the third perhaps an hundred pages after. Now this as too much for mortal man to carry in his memory.

HESYCH. So then you would have a man put words together properly, to make sense of them! Very fine! How then could I or my friend Bentivoglio be Authors? But let me hear you as to the *wit* of Dictionaries.

¹ Dissertation on Phalaris, *passim*.

GOULDM. Why, I believe that the person who pretends to have discovered any wit, either in mine or yours, Brother, has found out more than ever we designed to teach him.

HESYCH. Astonishment! Does not more of Homer's wit appear in his Eustathius and Didymus than in his Iliad? and is not "Clavis Homerica" better than either, and Scherus's Index a wiser book than any of them all? What man will not own that Erythræus has done more service to Virgil than Ogilby has by translating him?

GOULDM. At the same rate, I suppose, you will compliment me, and tell me, that the proper names at the end of my Dictionary are a better History than Hollingshed, Heylin, and Howell all together. Now you see the use of my Letter *H*.

HESYCH. Why so they are! But can there be more wit than in any etymology, of which you are full from all languages?

GOULDM. Etymologies may indeed furnish materials for quibblers, punsters, and conundrum-makers: but these sorts of wit are as much out of use as *hammered money*^m.

HESYCH. But I hope they will be in esteem again, when my Works are restored by the hand of the great Bentivoglio.—But is not the order of a Dictionary admirableⁿ? has not Julius Pollux a most incomparable fluency? is not Harpocraton an exquisite politician? Meursius's Glossary of the Greek and Barbarous words most harmonious? does not Passer contend with Schrevelius, and Schrevelius with Passer, and both deserve the conquest? But you do not seem to have a just esteem for your own Works—“Tanti eris aliis quanti tibi fueris,” as the Poet Calepin has it. Be sure, think as well of *yourself* for writing a Dictionary, as Bentivoglio does of *himself* for reading one; and the world must think well of you.

^m Which few of the present age have ever seem. An act passed, Jan. 14, 1697-8, to prevent the further currency of any hammered silver coin in this kingdom, and for recoinng such as was then in being. In the preceding year, exchequer bills were first projected.

ⁿ Diff. p. 4.

D I A L O G U E VI.

AFFECTATION OF THE LEARNED LADY.

BELLAMIRA—CALPHURNIA.

BELL. **Y**OU seem, Madam, to have been strangely delighted with the *belles lettres* whilst you were in the other world.

CALPH. Why, truly, Madam, I was thought to have had a relish for them, and not to have been *sans quelque goût* in the *belle manière*.

BELL. Reading may be allowable in our sex, when we have little else to do, especially if the subject be diverting; but your toilette used always to be heaped with such Books as frightened me to look into them.

CALPH. Having an acquaintance among the Learned, sometimes I had spread before me the Works of Jansenius and M. Arnaud, Stephens's Thesaurus, Des Cartes, Casaubon's Athenæus, Kircher, Lipsius, Taubmannus, with such like Authors, and Manuscripts innumerable.

BELL. Indeed, Madam, you used to make an appearance abroad, as if you bestowed your time in your dressing-room different from other Ladies.

CALPH. I was so visited in a morning by the Virtuosi, Critics, Poets, Bookfellers; so taken up with my correspondence with the Learned both at home and abroad; that I had little time to talk with my Millener, Drepper, Mantua-maker, and such illiterate people.

BELL. Such a *levée* for a Lady is not very common: but they who have had a capacity for such company must needs have been very well entertained.

CALPH. Oh, infinitely! The company most charming! I could have wished, for your sake, Madam, that you had understood Latin and Greek—I could have recommended to your acquaintance so profound a scholar!

BELL. To what intent, Madam?

CALPH. Why you, Madam, were a person very nice and exact in your dress, your table, and apartments. I have heard him, Madam, give such a description of a commode from a Satire of Juvenal,

Juvenal, that your Ladyship could not have found fault with the air of it. Then he illustrated the text with the comments of Lubin, Holiday, and others, to that degree, Madam,—“compagibus altis ædificare caput,” Madam! Oh, charming! beyond any thing, even of the French, Madam!

BELL. You are obliging to assist me in this matter; for I ignorantly took the fashion as I found it.

CALPH. A gentleman came one morning with several various readings upon Vitruvius; and from thence persuaded me that the frame of my looking-glass was the most injudicious piece of architecture that could be; that the bases were Doric, the capitals Corinthian, and the architrave perfectly Barbarous: for which reason I went abroad without patches, till such absurdities were entirely mended and corrected by his direction.

BELL. I remember, in Don Quixote, one of my Authors, the Marquis of Mantua, when he had sworn to revenge the death of his nephew Valdivinos, was not to eat on a table-cloth till he had performed it. But was not yours too severe a mortification for the ignorance of your cabinet-maker? But pray, Madam, who was this knowing person?

CALPH. It was the great Virtuoso Signior Bentivoglio, a person of the most known merit then breathing. I did nothing in my family without his direction. He has often taken his bill of fare out of Athenæus, and covered my table with the most surprising dishes imaginable. Ordinary persons content themselves with modern soups; but, after my acquaintance with him, nothing but the black “Lacedæmonian broth” might be set before us. He gave the bravest sounding Greek names from Simon’s “Art of Cookery” and the “Gastronomia,” such *oullions*, *groullions*, *stois*, and *toios*, to the end of every thing, that it was most charming. He made the most delicious *alpbiton* of the Ancients, far exceeding our hasty-pudding. I remember once, at the sight of a piece of roast-beef, he repeated such a rumbling description out of Homer, of the beef sent up to Agamemnon, that, I profess, my Lady Cornelia’s children ran away frightened, long before the *melimela* and *mala curva*, which the ignorant call “the desert,” could possibly be set on the table.

BELL. I profess, Madam, I had rather have gone without “a desert,” nay, a second course, than have had things with such

hideous names set before me. But, Madam, do learned men trouble themselves about such affairs as these are?

CALPH. Oh! Madam, "no man can be a Scholar without being expert in the whole method of Athenæus's Cookery." What quarrels, Madam, do you think there have been between grave and learned men, about spelling a Greek word, that has been only one single ingredient of a patty-pan! Pray read Athenæus, Madam; and you will be convinced of it.

BELL. Surely, learned men will not quarrel about trifles!

CALPH. Oh! Madam, rather than any thing. Why, as I have read in several Authors, Timotheus, a Grammarian, upon a dispute concerning a Greek word, laid his beard to a *cheekine*,⁴ with the great Scholar Philadelphus. The old Gentleman lost; and his adversary was so unmerciful as to cut it off, and hang it upon his chair, as a monument of his victory.

BELL. A cruelty, in my opinion, too insulting.

CALPH. Oh! Madam, I had forgotten one thing: I most heartily beg your pardon. Bentivoglio one day shewed me the name of a pudding in one of Aristophanes's plays, which, if it were written at its full length, would be as long as your Ladyship's tippet.

BELL. I fancy this outlandish way of furnishing your table was the reason why persons of quality avoided eating with you, especially having company that discoursed so much above them.

CALPH. I was so involved in the Greek, that I protest, Madam, I had entirely forgotten the necessary ingredients for lemon-cream and jelly of harts-horn.

BELL. Perhaps that might be the reason you appeared so seldom in the Park, and were so very long before you returned a visit that had been paid you.

CALPH. My day for the Ladies was but once a fortnight; but every day for the *Virtuosi*. But, pray, Madam, how did you spend your time, and fit yourself for conversation?

BELL. Why, Madam, my own affairs took up some part of my time; musick and drawing diverted me now and then; I had sometimes a fancy for work; I now and then went to see a play, when I liked the company I went with better than those I usually found there; I made myself as easy as I could to my

⁴ Probably a Zechin, or Sequin, a piece of gold coined at Venice and some parts of the East, of about nine shillings value.

acquaintance, and I have still the vanity to think I was not disagreeable to them.—And I did not find but such of us as made out in civility what we wanted in learning, might pass our time well enough in the world.

CALPH. If you can satisfy yourself with such trifles, I am your servant, Madam; and adieu!



D I A L O G U E VII.

C H R O N O L O G Y.

W. LILLY: THE ASTROLOGER—HELVICUS.

LILLY. **W**H Y, as matters go now with Chronology, it signifies nothing what we do. There is no value for exactness. To what end have we studied? What becomes of our Decimals, Sexagesimals, Algorithms of Fractions, Parabolics, Hypobybasms, Parallelopipeds, and Zenzes? When we have flung away a day, nay, sometimes a week, to preserve the least imaginary part of a moment, what honours are at last conferred upon us? Father Time may even bestow his hour-glass upon what parish-church he pleases; and next hay-harvest, for want, or else diversion, mow his way down from Paddington to Cumberland.

HELK. Why in such a passion, Brother Lilly?

LILLY. Brother Lilly!—You make very free with me. I am none of your Brother! The great Bentivoglio may indeed call me Brother, since the publication of his eternal labours. He equals

† Lilly, though known to be an impostor, had a pension of an hundred pounds a year conferred on him by the council of state. The Royalists treated him with ridicule and contempt. He is the Sidrophel of Butler; and Sir John Birkenhead, in his "Paul's Church-yard," a facetious satire upon various books at that time well known, satirizes his almanack, where he mentions "Merlinus Anglicus, the Art of discovering all that never was, and all that never shall be." Gataker, who well knew the futility of his art, calls him "blind buzzard." He seems to have been checked by no scruples in promoting the rebellion; and indeed tells us himself, that he "engaged body and soul in the cause of the parliament." He was born in 1602, at Diseworth, in Leicestershire; and died June 9, 1681.

the Chronological Tables * that I yearly published ; and then he is so exact a man at the original of a Sicilian city, that, amidst never so great variety of Authors, he can tell you the man who laid the first stone of it. There was not a potter in Athens, or a brazier in Corinth, but he knows when he set up, and who took out a statute of bankrupt against him.

HELV. Why this is great learning indeed !

LILLY. Why so it is, Sir. Do you know whether Thericles † made *glass* or *earthen ware*, or what Olympiad he lived in ?

HELV. Truly, not I ! But do the fortunes of Greece depend upon it ?

LILLY. Thus you would encourage ignorance ! My Brother Bentivoglio and I have studied many years upon things of less importance, some of which I shall name to you ; as, that Carp and Hops came into England the same year with Heresy ;—that the first Weather-cock was set up, on the tomb of Zethys and Calais, sons of Boreas, in the time of the Argonautic expedition ;—that Mrs. Turner brought up the fashion of Yellow Starch ‡ ;—that the Sybarites first laid Rose-cakes and Lavender among their linen ;—that Sardanapalus was the inventor of Cushions, which never before this last century have been improved into easy Chairs, by the metamorphosis of cast mantuas and petticoats, to the ruin of chamber-maids.—And yet we thought our time well spent, I must tell you.

HELV. Are any of these things in Usher's "Annals," or Simpson's "Chronicon ?"

LILLY. Perhaps not. But we stand upon their shoulders, and therefore see things with greater exactness. Perhaps never man came to the same pitch of Chronology as the much-esteemed Bentivoglio. He has gotten the true standard by which to judge of the Græcian time : "He knows the age of any Greek word unless it be in the Greek Testament ;" and can tell you the time a man lived in, by reading a page of his book, as easily as I could

* See the Dissertation.

† Dissertation about Thericlean cups.

‡ Yellow starch for ruffs, first invented by the French, and adapted to the fallow complexions of that people, was introduced by Mrs. Turner, a physician's widow, who had a principal hand in poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury. This vain and infamous woman, who went to be hanged in ruff of that colour, helped to support the fashion, as long as she was able. It began to decline on her execution. See Granger, vol. ii. 8vo; p. 65.

have told an oyster-woman's fortune when my hand was crost with a piece of silver.

HELV. This is admirable! Why then, it seems, words have their chronology and phrascs, their rise and fall, as well as the Four Monarchies,

LILLY. Very right; let Bentivoglio but get a sentence of Greek in his mouth, and turn it once or twice upon his tongue; and he as well knows the growth of it, as a vintner does Burgundy from Madeira.

HELV. For shame, give over. You and Bentivoglio are a disgrace to Chronology—which is a study that has and does employ the care of the greatest men in Church and State. Nothing can be of more use than the periods they fix, both for the illustration of History, and the service of Religion. But I must own, that the crockery-ware of Thericles does not fall under the notice of these grave enquirers. Consider farther, that men of true learning will always be *honoured*, whilst their mimicks are *despised*.



D I A L O G U E VIII.

THE IMPOSTURE.

HERACLITUS—DEMOCRITUS.

HERAC. **A**LAS! alas! the world, it seems, continues still the same! “Lies, mistakes, cheats, forgeries, and impostures,” are published and defended amongst the Learned, as much as ever!—Alas! alas!

DEMOC. Cheer up your spirits, old spark. The world owes half its ease, content, and happiness, to deceit:

“So to his cure we the sick youth betray,

“And round the cup persuasive honey lay;

“The bitter draught, thus by the boy receiv'd,

“Preserves his life for being well deceiv'd *.”

A coxcomb is the object of envy, rather than pity. When you weep, to see sharpers impose upon his sense, bullies upon his courage, and pedants upon his understanding; he laughs at your tears, and I laugh at his follies.

* Diff. 239. 331. 339. 374, &c.

* Tasso, from Lucretius.

HERAC. Who without concern will consider that "Pythagoras should write verses, and put Orpheus's name to them?" That "Heraclites should be such an imposture as to counterfeit "Thespis's Plays, and impose upon Clemens Alexandrinus, "Pollux, and Plutarch, all together?" Alas! the very "Laws "of Charondas and Zaleucus are spurious cheats and foul impostures;" whilst Diodorus, Stobæus, and others, have, as much as in them lay, contributed to the villany^b.

DEMOC. Defer your passion. The other side of these propositions may chance to be true. Besides, you pass no great compliment upon learning, when you would shew your learned men of antiquity to be either fools or rascals. You may easily guess, by this simile, what the generality of bye-standers will be apt to do upon this occasion.

HERAC. But O! Phalaris! Phalaris! Notwithstanding the Dissertations of Bentivoglio, "the Sophist imposes his spurious "Epistles upon the world under his name;" and the Examiner^c, who has undertaken his Defence, has met with a kind reception from the world: whilst none complain, but I and Bentivoglio.

DEMOC. Whilst life, spirit, and a great genius, shine throughout the Epistles; and whilst wit, judgement, and learning, go along with the Examiner; men will read them. In the mean time, dry your eyes; and assure yourself, your friend Bentivoglio will never be useless so long as there are any Grocers.—You seem more pale than ordinary all of a sudden! What is the matter?

HERAC. The stone! the stone! the stone!

DEMOC. You cannot be troubled with that, since your shade can feel no pain.

HERAC. It is the marble—*that* is the thing that grieves me.

DEMOC. Pray, what has this marble done?

HERAC. Time has devoured it.

DEMOC. If that be all, that is a thing common to all marble.

HERAC. Oh! but this which is eaten is in the most material place for the purpose. For, without a man can make sense of
ppotomistha d arshcho noinow er

^y Diss. p. 15.

^z P. 245.

^a P. 334.

^b Diss. p. 335—376.

^c See "Boyle against Bentley," *passim*.

nos &c^d. and read whole lines where no letters can be seen, the age of Tragedy, which is "an important matter," can never be determined.

DEMOC. You are much beside the mark, old Friend, if you would have a stone legible. A huge marble would "sell for nothing," if it had above a dozen letters on it. "That is the stone for money^f," which requires spectacles, and an iron feskew to make letters where a man cannot find them. It is not a Critick's business to read marbles; but, out of "broken pieces," to guess at them, and then positively to restore them. As the misunderstanding of this at present has caused you some disturbance; so the contemplation of an Antiquary for the future may create you very good diversion.

HERAC. You seem not to have a just relish of Antiquity, whilst I deplore those irreparable losses which Time has occasioned. Not a mortal now breathing knows "the shape of Nestor's cup, nor what were the disputes of the Old Grammarians about it, since the many Treatises which were written upon that subject are now perished and sunk in oblivion^g."

DEMOC. Well, I will procure you a Catalogue, from Benti-yoglio, of "such Books as have been *lost* and are *found*, such as have been *lost* and are *not found*; and, in short, of such as have *neither been lost nor found*." But my heart will not break so long as there are such Dissertations remaining as, "The History of *Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, and Tobacco*."—"The Theological Collation, occasioned by the words *Tirez, Mirez, Beuf*, that is, *Take, Look, Drink*, by the profound Scholar Adrian Vander Bliet."—"The Treatise of Northallerton Ale."—"The Interlude of Ale, Toast, Sugar, Nutmeg, and Tobacco; with the Contest of Toast, for having rubbed himself against Nutmeg."—"Learn to lie warm; proving the Necessity for a young Man to marry an old Woman."—These writings to me supply the place of "all Authors that have written about the shape of cups" since the reign of Saturn.

HERAC. Whilst, in the mean time, my grief is insupportable!

DEMOC. Come, put off your chagrin; and take a little of my good-humour along with you. I will *rail* with you^h; *quibble* with

^d Diss. p. 208.

^e P. 389.

^f Preface.

^g P. 115.

^h "If I say that grass is green, or snow is white, I am still at the courtesy of my Antagonist; for, if he should rub his forehead, and

with you^l; quote *proverbs* with you^k; *dispute* with you^l; *pun* with you^m; *cut Greek capers* with youⁿ; tell a *gossip's tale* with you^o; sing a *smutty catch* with you^p:—any thing to divert you; and yet all shall be according to art, and the exact method of your Friend Bentivoglio. I see you look sour, and begin to frown upon me.—How true a saying is it, “That one man may

“deny it, I do not see by what syllogism I should refute him.” *Diff.* p. 408.

i “In a body of laws, any metaphor at all makes but an odd figure.” P. 361.—“Mr. Boyle is pleased to call that Dissertation my *soft* Epistle to Dr. Mill, which is ironically said for *hard*; and indeed, to confess the truth, it is too *hard* for him to bite at.” P. 277.

k “Such a trade would have been as unprofitable as to carry *filphium* to Cyrene, or *frankincense* to Arabia, or *coals* to Newcastle.” P. 351.

l “It is as if some boy should thus argue with his master: *Pomum* may signify *malum*, an apple; and *potum* may signify *cerasum*, a cherry; therefore *malum*, an apple, may signify *cerasum*, a cherry.” P. 297.

m “Stratonicus the Musician made a quibble about it; for, as he once was in Mylasa, a city that had few inhabitants in it, but a great many temples, he comes into the market-place, as if he would proclaim something; but instead of *Ἀξίσις, Ἄξις*, as the form used to be, he said, *Ἀξίσις, Νεὸς*, which is so good in Greek that it cannot be translated.” P. 203.

n “Make room there; for I am beginning a dance that is enough to strain a man's sides with the violent motion. Pollux says of the dances of women, they were to kick their heels higher than their shoulders; and, in Phrynichus's way, frisk and caper, so as the spectators, seeing your legs aloft, may cry out with admiration.” [It is hardly to be supposed that the inhabitants of the lately-discovered Southern Islands are conversant with Grecian manners; yet the females of Otaheite appear to have been well versed in this species of dancing.]—“With a Dissertation concerning an error in Aristophanes, which has continued ever since Adrian's time, whether Phrynichus *sneaks like a cock*, or rather *strikes like a cock*. A very material question!” P. 264—269.

o “A certain gossip of old, as the story goes, would needs tell her comrades what Jupiter once whispered to Juno in her ear. The company was inquisitive how she could know it then. But Mr. Boyle would have answered for her, That they might as well ask her how she came to know his name was Jupiter. Fame, that told her the one, must tell her the other too.” P. 224.

p “A Greek Song in Athenæus. They are the words of a woman to her lover, that he would rise before her husband comes home and catches them.” P. 357.

“steal a horse with less danger than another look over the hedge!” Should I do any of these things of my own head, I know how I should be censured, and what would become of me. But, when I act under the pretence of being “a great Scholar,” and the open protection of such an authority as that of Bentivoglio, I dare be as fanciful as “any Dissertator of them all.”



D I A L O G U E IX.

M O D E R N L E A R N I N G⁹.

SIGNIOR MODERNO—SIGNIOR INDIFFERENTIO.

INDIFF. **W**H E R E have you been, Moderno, in the name of wonder! You make such a hideous figure, and are so dirty, that no gentleman would come near you? What, has your horse thrown you? or what is the matter?

MOD.

⁹ Mr. William Wotton, an English Divine of most uncommon parts and learning, was born Aug. 13, 1666. He discovered a very extraordinary genius for learning languages at an age almost incredible; was admitted of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, at less than ten years old; took the degree of B. A. in 1679; obtained afterwards a fellowship in St. John's; commenced B. D. in 1691; was made chaplain to the earl of Nottingham, secretary of state, who in 1693 gave him a rectory in Bucks. The next year he published the “Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning,” a surprizing work for a man of eight-and-twenty. A second edition of this book being published in 1697, with Dr. Bentley's Dissertations annexed to it (as mentioned above, p. 139), Mr. Wotton was involved in the controversy. Even Mr. Boyle allows, that “he is modest and decent, speaks generally with respect of those he differs from, and with a due distrust of his own opinions. His book has a vein of learning running through it, where there is no ostentation of it.” (Boyle against Bentley, p. 25.) It is well known, that he fell under the lash of Dr. Swift; which put him on writing “A Defence of his Reflections, &c.” re-printed, with a third corrected edition of the Reflections, in 1705. His first publication as a divine (a sermon against Tindal's “Rights”) appeared in 1706; and in 1707 he obtained his Doctor's degree. From difficulties in his private fortune, he retired into Wales in 1714; and acquired such skill in that language as enabled him to undertake the

MOD. The matter! why "I have been in a ditch."

INDIFF. By some accident, I suppose.

MOD. Accident! no, you know better sure than that. "Gentlemen of my estate, fortune, education, parts, and learning, do not use to go into a ditch by accident, but choice. There has been more true experience in Natural Philosophy gathered out of ditches in this latter century, than Pliny and Aristotle were masters of both together; though one was of the first quality in Rome, and the other was master to the founder of the third Monarchy."

INDIFF. But what may have been your diversion in "this ditch?"

MOD. Why, I have been "hunting for tadpoles," and have had very good sport: only at last the rain disturbed it, just as I had found out the seat of their animal spirits.

INDIFF. Is it not a little too soon in the season for tadpoles?

MOD. Something too soon; but a man is so fatiated with the winter-sports within doors, as rat-catching, mouse-flying, crevice-searching for spiders, cricket-dissecting, and the like; that the spring leads us into the fields upon its first approaches.

publication of the "Laws of Hoel Dha;" which he did not live to finish, dying Feb. 13, 1726, at Buxted. The book was published in 1730, by Mr. William Clarke (afterwards chancellor of Chichester), who had married his daughter, and, by the Doctor's interest, had obtained the living of Buxted; which is now enjoyed by his only son, Mr. Edward Clarke.

"This is what our age has seen; and it is not the less admirable because all of it perhaps cannot be made immediately useful to human life. It is an excellent argument to prove, That it is not gain alone which biasses the pursuits of the men of this age after knowledge; for here are numerous instances of learned men, who, finding other parts of natural learning taken up by men who in all probability would leave little for after-comers, have, rather than not contribute their proportion towards the advancement of knowledge, spent a world of time, pains, and cost, in examining the excrescences of all the parts of trees, shrubs, and herbs, in observing the critical times of the changes of all sorts of caterpillars and maggots; in finding out, by the knife and microscopes, the minutest parts of the smallest animals; examining every crevice, and poring in every ditch; in tracing every insect up to its original egg; and all this with as great diligence, as if they had had an Alexander to have given them as many talents as he is said to have given to his Master Aristotle." Reflections, p. 313, 314.

‡ P. 312.

INDIFF.

INDIFF. Pray, Sir, have you not some diversions peculiar to the summer?

MOD. Oh! yes! infinite, infinite! *Maggots, flies, gnats, buzzes, chaffers, humble-bees, wasps, grass-hoppers,* and in a good year *caterpillars in abundance.*

INDIFF. I thought some of these things did harm, especially *maggots and caterpillars.*

MOD. How extremely a man may be mistaken that has not learning! The most useful knowledge imaginable may be gathered from them by a Philosopher. “Goedartius and Swammerdam became eminent for this business. Goedartius has given exact histories of the several changes of great numbers of caterpillars into butterflies and worms, and maggots into flies, which had never before been taken notice of as specifically different.”

INDIFF. You inform me of things I was not so well versed in before.

MOD. A friend of mine has studied “all those excrescences and swellings which appear in summer-time upon the leaves of tender twigs, fruits, and roots of many trees, shrubs, and herbs, from whence several sorts of insects spring, which are all caused by eggs laid there by full-grown insects of their own kinds.” Another friend of mine has made “many observations upon insects that live and are carried about upon the bodies of other insects”^w; and oftentimes upon the bodies of rational beings: whence he has given admirable reasons, why idle dirty boys scratch their heads, and beggars shrug their shoulders. “He has examined likewise abundance of those insects which are believed to be produced from the putrefaction of flesh; those he found to grow from eggs laid by other insects of the same kinds”^x. He told, me they were a very prolific and voracious sort of animal; and that, as for their eggs, a butcher would not give a groat for ten millions of them.

INDIFF. So that, it seems, the Ancients eat their meat as soon as they had killed it; but in after-ages the women, not being so good house-wives, left the “maggots of putrified meat” to be discerned by the glasses of their husbands!

^x Reflections, &c. p. 310, 311.

^w P. 319.

^v Ibid.

^y P. 309.

MOD. You seem to smile.

INDIFF. I protest, Sir, I am as grave as the things you discourse of will possibly give me leave. You may imagine I am better bred than to laugh at a man that talks seriously as you do, in my conscience.

MOD. I am very glad to find you so well disposed. "For I think that all these excellent men do highly deserve commendation, for these seemingly useless labours; and the more, since they run the hazard of being laughed at by men of wit. For nothing wounds so much as jest; and when men once become ridiculous, their labours will be slighted, and they will find few imitators. How far this may deaden the industry of the Philosophers of the next age, is not easy to tell."

INDIFF. I hope I shall be no occasion of so great a mischief as "the deadening the industry of the Philosophers" in a design so truly noble. But, pray, since you have been so kind to inform me, let me understand something farther concerning the knowledge of the Ancients; for I hitherto took them to be "men of letters."

MOD. Scarce that, Sir; for I take Grammar to be necessary in the first place.

INDIFF. Certainly, Sir.

MOD. Now I suppose it will be granted, that, if a *stranger* understand the language of a native better than the native himself, he ought to be preferred to him. Now I dare confidently affirm, "that the Scholars of latter ages, as Sanctius, Scioppius, Caninius, and Clenard, have given evident proofs how well they understood the Greek and Latin tongue. Besides, there are abundance of Grammatical Treatises, such as Scholia upon difficult Authors, Glossaries, Onomasticons, Etymologicons, Rudiments of Grammar, and the like. From all which, there seems reason to believe that these Criticks may have understood grammatical construction of Latin, as well as Varro and Cæsar; and of Greek, as well as Aristarchus or Herodjan."

INDIFF. I had always such an honour for Cæsar, that I thought he was beyond being compared with Scioppius. But, if it is so, I shall rest contented.

MOD. It cannot well be otherwise, seeing there has been extraordinary industry used in these latter ages; insomuch that

“volumes have been written against some letters; and in favour of H and Z,” that were in difficult circumstances.

INDIFF. I am glad *those letters* got the better; for I have always had a particular respect for them.

MOD. As for Cæsar, poor gentleman! he is not so much to be blamed: for he did what he could, considering the age he lived in. But that age, which others think so great for learning and empire, lay under several apparent disadvantages; for I have often read Xenophon, Polybius, Tully, and Tacitus, to see what *rags* might have been among the Ancients: but I cannot find (though I learn from Terence they had some) what use they put them to. It is demonstration that they made “no paper of their linen rags^a,” and Cæsar, when he had subdued France, and wrote his Commentaries, could not have *printed them*, if he would have pawned his conquests.

INDIFF. Were they so unhappy in all other matters?

MOD. Yes, Sir; I really pity the Ancients, as to their *opticks, divinity, tobacco, cyder, coffee, punch, sugar*, and several other things, of which they were ignorant.

INDIFF. As how, Sir, I beseech you?

MOD. It is undoubtedly to be believed “that spectacles were not ancienter than Friar Bacon^b,” inasmuch that it must be a great loss to learning, when old gentlewomen could not record their *receipts* to posterity. Besides, it is certain “that Monsieur Nuck first found out how the watery humour of the Eye may be and is constantly supplied; for he discovered a particular canal of water, arising from the internal carotid artery, which, creeping along the sclerotic coat of the eye, perforates the Cornea near the pupil, and then, branching itself curiously about the Iris, enters into and supplies the watery humour^c.”

INDIFF. The most ignorant may apprehend this very easily.

MOD. To pass by the “Philological Learning of the Moderns^d,” I cannot but pity the Ancients as to their Divinity. “They did not make controversies so easy as the Moderns; and the Fathers, especially St. Chrysostom, seem to have been but indifferent Preachers.”

INDIFF. Hold, Sir, I beseech you! Do as you please as to other things: but do not intermeddle with Religion. I, who am

^a Reflections, &c. p. 15.

^b P. 189, 190.

^c P. 219.

^d P. 374. See chap. xxix. throughout.

2 Layman, will as soon give you leave to publish Apollonius Tyanæus. But, pray Sir, to proceed, let me hear what you have to say as to their *tobacco*.

MOD. "Certainly, that *tobacco* ought here to be mentioned, "can be questioned by none who know what a delight and refreshment it is to so many nations, so many several ways. So "that, from Virginia and Brazil, we may be assured that the "modern husbandry is a larger, if not a more exact, thing than "the ancient." It is strange to think what inconveniences they were put to: Socrates was forced to ride upon a hobby-horse, and Scipio and Lælius to play with bounding-stones; because none of them had the happiness "to blow a pipe with "their neighbours."

INDIFF. This was extremely hard for men of their quality!

MOD. It was the fault of their gardens.

INDIFF. I thought "their gardens had been extremely fine, "being spacious plots of ground, fitted and furrounded with "stately walks of plantanes, built round with portico's, finely "paved, noble rows of pillars, with fish-ponds, aviaries, fountains, and statues f."

MOD. This is true. But then, "where were their Auriculas, "Tulips, Carnations, Jonquills, Narcissuses, and that almost "infinite diversity of beautiful and odoriferous flowers that now "adorn our gardens? Besides, we have no reason to think they "understood much of that beautiful furniture which Dwarfs "and Ever-greens afford us g."

INDIFF. Their gardens then could never have been pleasant!

MOD. Impossible; when, instead of the sweet-smelling Holly, the shady Juniper, the beautiful House-leek, the most fragrant Box-trees in pots, they (like our English ancestors) had nothing but huge Walnut, Chestnut, and Warden-pear and Pippin-trees, in their orchards, as high as their garret windows. But to return to *tobacco*: their want of that spoilt all their wit, judgement, and industry; for, consequently, they could have no *tobacco-boxes*, *tobacco-stoppers*, or *snuff-boxes*, all which are the tests and indications of a man's genius. A large *tobacco-box* shews a man of great and extensive trade and conversation; a small one, well japanned, shews a gentleman of good-humour, that would avoid snoaking for the sake of the ladies, and yet, out of complaisance,

c Reflections, &c. p. 298.

f P. 302.

g P. 304, 305.

does it to oblige the persons he converses with. So, as to *stop-pers*, if made of the Royal Oak, it shews *loyalty*; Glastonbury-thorn, *zeal extraordinary*; a piece of pipe, *humility*; silver, *pride*; black-thorn, *adversity*; and the use of the little-finger, if the pipe be well-lighted, *great patience*. *Snuff-boxes* were likewise wanting to the Ancients; so that I cannot imagine how they could well have a beau among them. The largeness of a *snuff-box* is a great recommendation to a young gentleman. I knew a person who got a great fortune by the merit of the spring and joint of his *snuff-box*; the charms of it were irresistible. I would sooner take my character of a man from the engraving, painting, enamelling of his *snuff-box*, and the choice of his *orangerie* and *bergamot*, than from his discourse and writings.

INDIFF. I could not have thought the Ancients had been so barbarous!

MOD. Why then, Sir, I must declare freely, that I take them to have been the most miserable people in the world. For as for *coffee*, the most wholesome and pleasant liquor in the world, they had not "one drop of it;" which was the reason why Cato, one of their wisest men, was so often overtaken with "his wine^b." Indeed, what was an Empress without her *tea-table*? what conversation could she have? I have known ladies that would not have rivaled Statira in the favour of Alexander, if they might not have had their quart of *chocolate* in a morning. But then it was impossible for the Greeks or Romans to have had any good Sea-commanders, since they could not have had any *aqua vite* or *brandy*; "for the Arabs first extracted vinous spirits from fermented liquors."

INDIFF. But then they had a vast affluence of other delicacies for the use of human life.

MOD. Truly but moderate as to them; for, in the first place, "they had no cyder; at least the method of chusing the best apples, such as red-streaks, was unknown to them^c."

INDIFF. Why then I had rather have been Under-sheriff of Herefordshire, than have had the universal votes of the Roman Senate to have been Proconsul of Asia!

MOD. But I will suppose they had several delicious dainties. Yet what did they all signify without "Sugar, which they did

^b Reflections, &c. p. 298, 299.

^c P. 296.

"not

“not know how to prepare ^k.” Apicius was a man that understood eating after their fashion^l; but it was coarse and ungentle. Nothing that could be called a *sweet-meat* came to his table. Nay they were so unhappy, that, when Cleopatra treated Antony with that which they then reputed to be luxury, “she was not able, when he came in *bot*, to make him a *cool tankard* ;” nay, she had not “an orange or lemon” to her veal^m; not a good glass of “small-beer or oat-ale” at the table; no “rose-water” to her codlingsⁿ; no “China orange” for her desert, nor “orange-flower-water” to wash with after dinner.

INDIFF. These things would put any person into a passion! I shall endeavour to wait upon you some other time, to learn more of so kind an instructor.

MOD. I shall be glad to communicate (though it were a large Volume of this kind) to the publick upon occasion. In the mean time, I think I have demonstrated, from the *ditches, crevices, tadpoles, spiders, divinity, catterpillars, opticks, maggots, tobacco, flies, oranges, lemons, cyder, coffee, and linen-rags*, of the Moderns, that “the extent of knowledge is at this time vastly greater than it was in former ages.”



D I A L O G U E X.

THE DISSERTATOR.

MAC FLECKNOE—DECKER.

DECK. **Y**OU seem thoughtful, Brother Flecknoc.

FLECK. Yes, I am thoughtful.

DECK. What may you have been doing?

FLECK. Doing! Why the same as other learned men do. I have been studying a great while, and doing nothing; for, to tell

^k Reflections, &c. p. 217.

^l This subject is prettily enlarged upon in Lord Lyttelton's Nineteenth Dialogue; between APICIUS and DARTENEUF, of famous memory as Epicures.

^m Reflections, &c. p. 305.

ⁿ P. 204, 305, 397.

• P. 405.

you the truth, Brother Decker, I have been considering why the world should think my Poems or your Works to be dull.

DECK. Why, if I had had the advantage of French dancing-masters, Italian eunuchs, and fine scenes, my Plays might, for the sense of them, have taken as much as some modern Operas. But,

“ Our aged fathers came to plays for wit,

“ And sat knee-deep in nutshells in the pit.

“ Coarse hangings then, instead of scenes, were worn;

“ And Kidderminster did the Stage adorn P.”

And then Jonson and the rest of the Criticks were all my enemies; but I took heart of grace, as well knowing that Criticks were the scourge, and I the top:

“ For, as a top will spin the more you baste her;

“ So, every lash they gave, I wrote the faster Q.”

But what think you of the great Critick Bentivoglio?

FLECK. Why, I think my Epigrams to be as witty as those he has retrieved from “his manuscript Anthology:” only the sense is more obscured by the Greek, and mine lies more open, because they are in my native language. Would any one but turn my verses into Greek, I would play them against ever a Callimachus, Dioscorides, Simonides, or Nossis, of them all. I have taken the pains to translate one or two of them that are most admired by Bentivoglio.

DECK. I have been upon the same Author. I have read above a hundred pages of him, about “the age of Comedy and Tragedy:” and, as we Wits are apt to be fired with emulation, so I have made some few notes towards an Essay, endeavouring at “a Dissertation concerning Puppet-shews: which Remarks I will oblige you with, if you will please to communicate one of your Epigrams to me.

FLECK. You know, Brother, I cannot deny you any thing. Sir, the case was this: Callimachus made an Epigram, as it was supposed, upon a Shipwreck. “The learned Madam Dacier “was betrayed into this mistake, by the Greek word *epelthox*; “and so was the Critick Bentivoglio*.” till at last, by the saga-

P Prologue to “The Generous Enemy.”

Q Epilogue to “The Maiden-Queen.” By a Person of Honour.

R Pref. p. lix. Diss. p. 209. 233. 302. 356. 355. 458. 459.

S Pref. p. lix.

city of his parts and the strength of his genius, he found out that Callimachus did not write upon a *shipwreck*, but a *salt-feller*; and that "Eudemus must not be supposed to be delivered from storms at sea; but that, owing a great many debts, he paid them off, by living sparingly upon bread and salt, the diet of poor people; and, in memory of it, he dedicated his *salt-feller* to the Samothracian gods. The Epigram, he says, is very ingenious; and the humour lies in the double-meaning; and likeness of some Greek words, and the whole is a *parodia*." If you please, you shall have a translation that I have made of it:

"Eudemus, eating little salt, set free
 "From great and dangerous storms of usury,
 "To Samothracian gods, like honest *feller*,
 "Preserv'd by salt, here offers his *salt-feller*."

DECK. I suppose Eudemus was a countryman; and therefore you use the word *feller* rather than *fellow*, out of choice, and not because the rhyme constrained you to it.

FLECK. You take me right.

DECK. Well, if we were not of necessity to commend the wit of the Ancients, especially when restored by learned hands, I could have admired one of your Epigrams as much as this. Since you have been so obliging, I must perform my promise, although I have made but a small sketch, concerning Puppet-shews: "It is wonderful to think that we should have so little an account among the Ancients of a matter of such moment: no periods of time fixed, no marble extant, nor any Manuscripts, concerning these little machines which approach human nature in the next degrees to monkies ^t. I have often reproved the negligence of the magistrate upon this occasion, that no memorials should have been kept in their public archives: no, not so much as in the Pie-powder-court ^u at Smithfield. I am sensible that, "when I print my Dissertation, I shall detain the Reader very long upon this subject, though I hope the pleasure and importance of it will excuse the prolixity ^v." When fair Rosamond first appeared as a puppet, there was nothing between her and the spectator, to hinder or amuse the eye-sight ^x. Sandy's

^t Puppet-shews. Diss. p. 309.

^u Which was instituted to regulate disputes in fairs and markets.

^v Diss. p. 309.

^x Schol. Arist. Hephæst.

"water-works

“water-works at first had the same simplicity; but the water
 “flowing perpetually gave the spectators great diversion. After-
 “wards *strings* were found out by Devaux, and several other
 “scenes were introduced: the French court was represented,
 “farabands were danced; and Punch appeared, with quick and
 “lively motion in his eyes, activity in his gesture, and vivacity
 “of wit in his expressions^γ. Devaux increased the stature of
 “the puppets, to almost the bigness of children; but that was
 “after he had represented that admirable design of “*Love in a*
 “*pipkin*”^z: though I must confess that, after this, the Dutch
 “fight was represented, and several men of war were sunk, with
 “their admiral, in an open cistern. Afterwards, as the luxury
 “of the age increased, they brought artificial butterflies upon
 “the stage; and serpents issued from Punch’s eyes, to the amaze-
 “ment of the spectators^α. Then Sedgemoor came to the public
 “view; guns in miniature managed the attack; and bells, of
 “the bigness of those at horses-ears, proclaimed the triumph.
 “Thus they ran on to excess, and consequently to poverty and
 “licentiousness^β: till at last the operator was forced to snow
 “brown paper instead of white; and Merry Andrew, who managed
 “the mob without doors, was sent to Bridewell, for making
 “free with his betters.” All this I design to illustrate with infinite
 scraps of lost Authors, and innumerable quotations.

FLECK. The design is most admirable. When you publish, I will be ready with a copy of encomiasticks. In the mean time, let me repeat you another Epigram.

DECK. You know at all times how to be agreeable.

FLECK. There was one Nossis, a Poetress little known in the world, who might have lain still in obscurity if Bentivoglio had not discovered her. He found out, “that she was a Locrian; “that she lived about the hundred and fourth Olympiad. Her “mother’s name was Theuphilis, and Cleocha was her grand- “mother^ε.”

DECK. Great discoveries! of a greater family!

FLECK. Nay, farther, “she had a daughter called Melinna; “or she might not have a daughter so called, as a Ms. Epigram “seems to shew: for it is possible she may mean there another’s “daughter, and not her own.” This Epigram Bentivoglio com-

γ Suid. in Prat.

z Schol. Pin. Tsets.

α Plut.

β Athen.

ε Did. p. 355, 356.

mends for its singular elegance. I have endeavoured that it may not lose any spirit by my version :

“ Melinna’s self! How charming is the face,
 “ How soft the look, how tender every grace!
 “ The daughter’s features do the mother’s strike,
 “ How fine for parents to have children like!”

DECK. Why this is the common flattery of the midwife at every gossiping!

FLECK. Besides, the Epigram contradicts the known Proverb, “ That boys should be like the mother, and girls their fathers, if born to good fortune.” Indignation hereupon flung my Muse into this sarcastic Epigram :

“ Melinna is so like her mother, may be
 “ It may forbode no kindness to the baby—
 “ Boys should be like the mother; girls should rather
 “ (If they would fortune have) be like their father.”

DECK. Since you have obliged me so much, Brother Flecknoe, I cannot but communicate to you another Essay of mine, concerning Strolers: “ Greece is happy that it can settle the time when a Stage was fixed by Æschylus, and Theſpis’s cart became to be disused ^d. But it is not so with the Britons; for indeed their Stage has never been so managed, but that strolers or ambulatory representations have had great share in their interludes ^e. The “ Wassaill” has been as ancient as the Saxons ^f. It is a Lyric poem, composed in honour of the good-man and dame of the family... Sometimes it entered into affairs of state, and sang of King Henry and the Miller; the Amours of King Edward and Jane Shore, together with her Misfortunes ^g. Sometimes it spake of heroic actions, as Chevy Chace and the London Prentice ^h. It generally concluded with the praise of hospitality and good house-keeping; and presenting one bowl of liquor, in hopes of having it replenished with another ⁱ. It was sung by one voice, sometimes relieved by a second; and oftentimes persons of less skill were able so to join as to fill up the Chorus. The Ode began at the vestibule or porch of each considerable Farmer in the Parish; and the Epilogue was generally performed, with *minced-pyes* and *roast-beef*, in the hall of the same mansion ^k. Afterwards, when the

^d Plut.

^e Tzetz.

^f Versteg.

^g Athen.

^h Suid.

ⁱ Schol. Arist.

^k Longin.

“ Paristr.

" Parish-clerks of London^l had for a great while together acted
 " several interludes; the Clerks and Sextons of the villages^m
 " thought themselves not to be outdone in ingenuity, and there-
 " fore revived that diversion of Mummung, the original of which
 " is obscure, at least must be searched for in Germany, where it
 " continues in perfection. These appeared with masks and un-
 " usual habits, lest otherwise the meanness of their persons might
 " take away from the character of those they represented. The
 " actors seldom more than three; they generally went first to the
 " lord of the manor, their place of action in the parlour, and
 " their reward usually enlarged with *plumb-porridge* and *cold*
 " *pudding*. Another sort of Interlude is the acting of Proverbsⁿ:
 " its antiquity is obscure; it is an extempore Drama, the number
 " of its actors uncertain. They generally consist of the children,
 " servants, and tenants of a family; and their reward *good cheer*
 " in general. There are very few of these, if any of the two
 " latter, committed to writing. The two former seemed to have
 " a stated time, as Christmas, for their performance; the latter to
 " have been occasional, as wit and good-humour offered. The
 " Whitfun-ale seems to have been of the next age to the Waffail^o.
 " The lord and lady, their hall, their hospitality of cakes and
 " ale, their son, their pages, their organs, added extremely to the
 " grandeur of their performance; their place of action generally
 " some barn or out-house, for the conveniency of reception; not
 " but that the whole company go round to the neighbouring
 " gentry, where the action, besides the moris-dancing, seems to be
 " *mono-prosope*; the whole lies upon my Lord's son, who raises
 " mirth by Proverbs, Riddles, Comic and Satirical expressions^p,
 " not without the applause of his parents and their pages. The
 " reward is generally *cool ale*, with *borage* and *sugar*, *gammon* of
 " *bacon*, and *new cheese-cakes*. But to come to the more perfect
 " art of the Stage. Our Ancestors, knowing what they were
 " wanting in, generally contrived their Drama so as to have least
 " need of decoration; of this sort is " *Gammar Gurton's Needle*,"
 " where the whole *epitrope*, or turn of affairs, depending upon
 " Hodge's being pricked with the needle in his leathern breeches,
 " saves the trouble of costly scenes and machines. " *Grim the*
 " *Collier of Croydon*," though of later date, yet had the same

^l Rymer.

^m Cato de Re Rustica.

ⁿ Mr. Ray's Proverbs.

^o Versteg.

^p Spel. Gloss.

“ advantage : and consequently both were acted in any place, as
 “ there was occasion. “ Crispin and Crispianus” cost some more
 “ trouble : the Princes could ever borrow their tools from any
 “ journey-man shoe-maker ; but then the robes and decorations of
 “ the Queens and Nobles were forced to be carried up and
 “ down in knapsacks. Notwithstanding the Stage had been fet-
 “ tled for many years, yet the art of strolling did and will still con-
 “ tinue : nor has Shakespear thought it unfit to introduce it as a
 “ beauty in his Play of “ Hamlet.” Nay, in these later times, the
 “ New-market company has diverted corporation after corpora-
 “ tion ; and, for the use of the Town-hall, placed the Mayor, his
 “ lady, and offspring, in the side-boxes for nothing. Bateman
 “ has not disdained to go from Smithfield to Southwark, and
 “ often down to Sturbridge. Nay, greater persons have, from
 “ the glories of the Theatre, retired into the country ; where the
 “ Kings of Brentford have been forced in the Rehearsal to come
 “ in the common way, for want of clouds to come down withal ;
 “ and the famous Othello, together with his father Brabantio in
 “ a callico night-gown, have pleaded their cause before a Venetian
 “ Senate, assembled in a place little bigger than a parlour-chim-
 “ ney.” I have shewn you my draught ; which I design to il-
 lustrate with the Chronology of each Play, and an account of
 such Interludes as have been acted upon the stages of Mount-
 banks ; which had infallibly been lost, if they had not been col-
 lected into one volume, by the industrious Mr. Kirkman †, about
 the middle of this last century.

DECK. Very natural, I protest. You will oblige the world
 extremely with these works.

FLECK. Well, Brother Decker, let us remain in hopes. Who
 knows what time may do, as to the retrieving or gaining a reputa-
 tion ? You have used hard words ; and they may stir up the
 spirit of some person, in times to come, to write a Scholiast upon

† Francis Kirkman, bookseller, and partner with Richard Head. He
 was famous for publishing plays, farces, and drolls ; and dealt as largely in
 drollery of various kinds as Curl did in bawdry and biography. Kirkman,
 indeed, had no objection to trading in the former commodity, if he
 thought it would turn the penny. He has given us Memoirs of his own
 Life, and probably led the way to John Dunton. He also published a
 book, called “ The Wits, or Sport upon Sport,” with his head prefixed.
 It is inscribed, “ F. K. citizen of London,” Granger, vol. IV. p. 58.

you as well as Aristophanes, and that may be a Rival to the laborious Tzetzes. Who knows but I may have the fate of Noffis; and some Library-keepers, among his dust, finding me out of print, may oblige the world with a new edition of my works, and discover that wit and elegancy which was denied me by my contemporaries?



D I A L O G U E XI.

SHEWING THE WAY TO MODERN PREFERMENT.

SIGNIOR INQUISITIVO—DON SEBASTIANO DES LOS MUSTACHIEROS—SIGNIOR CORNARO—MUSTAPHA.

INQ. **P**RAY, gentlemen, have a little more patience with one another; you do not imagine the danger that may be in quarreling here amongst the shades below. Let me be so happy as to compose the difference.

SEB. To take the right-hand of a person of my quality!

CORN. To affront a person that has made such a figure in the other world as I have done!

INQ. Dear gentlemen, I believe neither of you knew the other's quality. It is usual here, where Death makes us all equal, and where I shall be glad to make all friends. I long to know to what persons I am about to do so good an office.

SEB. Then, Sir, I do let you know, that I was Don Sebastiano des los Mustachieros, a favourite and prime minister to Cardinal Porto-carero, that great Prelate, who hath disposed of so large a share of the universe, and is the *padrone* of the greatest monarchs.

CORN. Why then I likewise let you know, that I was Signior Cornaro. My friend was the present Pope Innocent XI. He has been beholden to me for many good offices done him, both before and since he came to the papacy; nor durst any man in Rome have affronted me.

INQ. Why then, gentlemen, we of this world may hope to hear something of importance from the other, when two such great ministers arrive here.

SEB. I must own, I have received returns of gratitude from the Cardinal, for the services I have done, which were daily; but the frequency of them did not make them the less regarded by his Excellency. O heavens! how often have I smoothed those hairs, which the cares of so great a monarchy had ruffled! and

¶ This is printed as a "Dialogue of the Dead," though of a different species from the preceding *TRN.*—It was published long before the others; but the precise time does not appear, any nearer than that it was in the Pontificate of Innocent XI; which began in 1689, and ended in 1691.

How have I stiffened and exalted the same mustachios, to the terror of his enemies!—I have eased that mouth which is the oracle of the Indies; and, when the mines of Potosi could not have sent relief, by the extraction of one single *officle*, too small to be called a tooth, I have raised new harmony in all his fibres. By such great actions I first gained his esteem, till, being afterwards received into his privacies, I envied not the state of a Grandee; who might cover before the king, but must have been uncovered to me, if he hoped for any admittance to the Cardinal.

CORN. It is true, Sir, you have done service in the world. But what is that like having been placed in Rome, the seat of empire? By my friendship, Cardinals have been able to tread the Vatican, and there undertake the protection of crowned heads; which might have sunk, had not I eradicated those painful excrescences which hindered the progression of their patrons. Ambassadors have often waited in the papal anti-chamber, till this hand had performed its due operation upon that toe, before which even their masters in their utmost grandeur must fall down and venerate.

INQ. How happy am I, after death! In the other world, I might have searched long enough before I might have found out Cardinal Porto-Carero's tooth-drawer and Pope Innocent's corn-cutter together at one interview. But, since I have that good fortune, pray let me know which way, from such beginnings, you might rise to the height of empire, as I perceive both of you have done?

SEB. Easily, Sir, very easily.

CORN. Aye, Sir, very easily.

SEB. But you must think we had our methods. I began first with my fellow-servants and tradesmen—his razors had the worst sort of steel in them—his scissars were dear, and of no use—his wash-balls not perfumed, and intolerable—but he had served his Eminence many years, and I might be too bold in finding fault with him.—When this takes, then I begin my management at home—Diego does not come with the water—Jacomo has not made the lather—Francisco never brushes the combs.

INQ. Very political! “Little services most oblige great personsages,” says a learned Author.

SEB. Thus I make footing for my own creatures; never such perfumes as those of Don Balthasar—Don Fernandes goes him-

self for all his snuff to the Indies—never such a diligent creature as the little Jaquinello—Ricardo is never absent.

CORN. It is very true that a settled ministry must depend upon the friendship of inferiors.

SEB. In a little time, my creatures had a correspondence from the Cardinal's beard to the very foot of the stair-case. According to the cue, his Eminence has not slept well to-night; he seems not to be in good humour; nothing has been called for. But my little ministers never carry any thing from me but what is fatal. Your care lest you should disturb his Eminence shall be interpreted as your neglect of duty; your fear of his bad humour shall put him into one. Thus commanding at home, I extend my powers abroad, and great persons must be subject to the same laws as their inferiors; and when I can dispose (though but in appearance) of such private minutes, there is nothing in publick but must fall under my power.

INQ. Had I received your instructions in the other world, I might have much improved upon them. But, Signior Cornaro, you seem thoughtful.

CORN. You have been discoursing how much small things may be improved; and I have been casting up how much I have been able to make of a corn. When the world was intent upon the Pope's counsels, to see which he would most incline to, either the interest of the Austrian family, or else of France, in relation to the Spanish Monarchy—he calls to me one day, "Signior, "I have occasion to make use of your fidelity. But dare you "bear scandal? dare you endure the censure of the world, and "that as long as I shall think it convenient for my service?"—"Any thing," cry I, "may it please your Holiness! so you "know it to be innocent."—"Why I must be indisposed for some "time," says his Holiness. I dare not trust my physicians, lest "they send me something that may really dispatch me. But thee "I can trust; thou shalt suffer me to give out—but stay, here "are a thousand crowns for thee—that, as thou wert cutting "my corns, thy knife slipt, and made a wound so uneasy to me, "that walking may be dangerous."—It was done; for who dares disobey his Holiness? I had immediately the whole concourse of Rome about me. "Is it not enflamed, most noble Cornaro? "When will he be able to walk? when to give audience? I "have a petition; and shall be ruined, if not delivered within
"these

“these two days. Is nothing to be done in private, honest Signior?” What with Cardinals, Secretaries, Imperial and Spanish factions, receiving presents, and inwardly laughing at their folly, I was so far wearied, that I had almost resolved to undeceive them. You may observe what a small thing, in outward appearance, his Holiness made use of to gain time, till he could see the various turns of affairs in the European states, so as to be able to regulate his own counsels.

SEB. Fair and softly, good Sir! I cannot say that I did so much good; but I occasioned an equal proportion of disturbance by as small a matter. Being, by various methods too numerous to relate, admitted to Cardinal Porto-carero’s closet, I one day saw a paper, beginning, “In the Name, &c.” by which I supposed it the Cardinal’s will: and the hopes of a legacy made me double my diligence. The Cardinal some days continued writing; and I going in to snuff the lights, he complained of his pen, and bad me mend it. Now that very pen (if all be true as the world says since) may have disposed of Spain and both the Indies. However, it was not my business to enquire who made the late King of Spain’s will. But it was happy for me: I had all the pretenders to preferment under Philip the Fourth to wait upon me in a morning. Vice-roys were my companions. “When will his Eminency stir? Is he long a dressing? Who speaks to him first as he comes out of his closet? Could not you whisper him? Might not *this* make you my friend?”

CORN. Undoubtedly, Sir, you knew that, whilst he was dressing, was the properest time to accost him. I have heard of a great Empress, Semiramis, who commanded such mighty armies, that she was forced to wear man’s cloaths, to avoid the solicitations of her court-ladies: for, before that, she had not a pin stuck in her but what cost her a province, nor a lock curled but what cost her two; and that, as women went then and go now, was pretty chargeable dressing every morning. But, bless me! who comes here? On my word, he has been terribly handled.

MUST. Yes, indeed, ill enough handled! I left my master’s carcass floating in a river, and have made the best of my way hither to provide for him.

INQ. Pray, Sir, who may have been your master?

MUST.

MUST. Why, Sir, he was the late Mufti of the Ottoman Empire. But the mob were pleased to dethrone the Sultan^s, to force away the Grand Vizir, and to do an extraordinary favour for my master, and more than ever had been done to a Mufti before; that is, to murder him, drag him about the streets, throw him into a river (and, thank their civility!) to throw me after him.

INQ. Pray, Sir, what post might you have borne under him?

MUST. Post, Sir?—What post, Sir!—Why every post, from his cook to his receiver-general. Sir, I was a true servant fitting for a great man, and ready to execute every thing that his power might command, or his appetites desire. My master, Sir, loved money; and had all the laws, both human and divine, of the Ottoman Empire, to dispose of; and consequently had the sale of them: and, as I told you just now, I was his servant. The mob thought the Mufti was covetous, though I never found him so; and called me “his money-bag maker:” for, it is true, by education, I was a French taylor; but, not liking the trade, I ran away, was taken captive, turned Turk, had a kind master, under whom I made many a penny by interpreting the Alcoran: and I hoped to have retired with what I had to Italy; and there, as I was circumcised, to have ended my days in peace, under the notion of a Jewish broker.—But it is ordered otherwise.

INQ. Well, I will retire, since my two late acquaintance have got so good a companion. Truly, three very famous men have found out three very hopeful minister! However, the poor fellows were not to be blamed; since they only used the readiest means to modern preferments.

* Solyman III, who was deposed in 1691, was succeeded by Achmet II. Hence this Dialogue appears to have been written in that year.

A J O U R N E Y

T O

L O N D O N,

In the Year 1698.

After the Ingenious Method of that made by Dr.
MARTIN LISTER to PARIS, in the same Year, &c.

Written originally in French, by Monsieur SORBIERE;
and newly translated into English.

^a The "Journey to London" may, if considered, seem a vindication of our own country; and may shew Britain as much preferable to France, as wealth, plenty, and liberty, are beyond tortoisés hearts, champignons, and moriglio's; or the raising of two millions and two hundred thousand pounds in a few hours is preferable to any coins of Zenobia, Odenatus, and Vabalathus.

Dr. KING's Preface to his Miscellanies,

Dr. King facetiously ascribes this travestie to Mr. Sorbier, who had given an account of England, full of mistakes and misrepresentations, altogether trifling, and almost unintelligible; which he makes Dr. Lister rival, especially for the clearness of his expression, elegance of his description, and ingenious choice of his subjects. The witty irony runs through the several parts of Dr. Lister's Journey, in the order in which they lie in the first edition. But, if Dr. King had waited a little, he would have been supplied with further matter of ridicule. Dr. Lister published a second edition of his Journey in 1699; wherein, upon occasion of his "Synopsis Conchyliorum," printed at London in 1685, folio, he tells the following story, which he had barely mentioned in p. 104, of the first edition, sufficiently replete with vanity: "Mons. Clement, Deputy Librarian to the King's Library, having shewn me the Synopsis, I told him, I was sorry to see it there, and wondered how he came by it; for it was, I assured him, but a very imperfect trial of the plates, which I had disposed of to some few friends only, till I should be able to close and finish the design; which I now had done to my power, and would redeem that book with a better copy at my return to England.—The Reader (continues he) will pardon me the vanity, if I tell him, that this book was no inconsiderable present, even for so great a prince as the king of France: for that, besides the time that it took me up (ten years at least) at leisure hours, to dispose, methodize, and figure, this part of Natural History, it could not have been performed by any person else for less than 2000 pounds Sterling, of which sum yet a great part it stood me in out of my private purse."

BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

MONSIEUR SORBIERE

TO THE

R E A D E R.

I AM resolv'd to make no apology for this "short account of the magnificent and noble City of London," where you will meet with "nothing offensive." And I think I have observ'd every thing that is remarkable in it. It would have been unpardonable in me, to have omitted any matters which the curious might be desirous to know, having an inimitable pattern from one of that country lately^c, who,

for
 A short account of the real Sorbriere has been already given,
 p. 23.

^c Dr. Martin Lister.—This eminent Physician and Natural Philosopher was born of Yorkshire parents, settled in the county of Buckingham, about 1628. He was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, and obtained the degree of B. A. in 1658; and at the Restoration, in 1660, being a zealous Loyalist, was appointed Fellow by a royal mandamus. Two years afterward he proceeded M. A.; and, applying himself to Physick, travelled for improvement to France about 1668. He settled at York, in 1670, and followed his profession with great success. Employing his leisure hours on subjects of Natural History and Antiquity, he was chosen F. R. S. and in that learned body became very remarkable, by the great number of papers he communicated to them; near forty of which are printed in the Phil. Trans. from N^o 25 to N^o 585 inclusive, containing observations in Meteorology, Hydrology, Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology, Anatomy, Pharmacy, and Antiquities. He had before published several treatises upon Natural History. In 1683, his friends prevailed on him to come to London; and, being created M. D. at Oxford by diploma, March 11 that year, he was shortly after elected a
 Fellow

for the clearness of his expression, the elegance of his descriptions, as well as ingenious choice of his subjects, deserves a particular *salutation* from all the admirers of the *belles lettres* in the universe.

I might here take an opportunity to beg pardon of the English, for my misrepresentations thirty years ago^d: but it is to be hoped this Book will make my peace with that nation. The following pages^e will shew you the considerable heads I designed to treat of. And now I have paid my devoirs at the entrance, “I will not importune you any longer.”

Fellow of the College of Physicians. In the younger part of his life, he spared no pains in searching after natural and antique curiosities, traveling into several parts of England, particularly the North, for that purpose; but, his health being impaired after twenty-six years spent in this pursuit, and the business of his profession engaging much of his time, he confined himself to a more sedentary life, and drew up his medicinal observations, which he published, under the title of “*Exercitationes Medicinales*,” in 1697. The next year, attending the Earl of Portland in an embassy to the court of France, he staid at Paris about six months; and, on his return, published an account of his journey, containing observations on the state and curiosities of that metropolis. These, being thought minute and trifling for a man of letters, produced this pleasant travestie from our truly humorous Author. In 1709, he was appointed second physician in ordinary to Queen Anne; an honour he enjoyed not long, dying in February, 1711-12, oppressed with age and infirmities. The most valuable of his works is his “*Synopsis Conchyliorum*,” in two volumes folio, which are chiefly engraved from the drawings of his two daughters, now in the Ashmolean Museum. This book has been lately re-published, with improvements, by Mr. Huddesford, keeper of that Museum.

^d Alluding to the Journey of the real Sorbriere.

^e See the Index annexed to this little Tract.

A JOURNEY TO LONDON.

THIS tract was written chiefly to satisfy my own curiosity "fity p. 1^f;" and, being "in a place where I had little to do," I thought fit to write a Book for such people as had idle time enough upon their hands to read it. "The English nation value themselves upon" a plain honesty, joined with hospitality. These make them courteous to *strangers*; but they are not very easy with their *curiosity*. For they do not "build and dress mostly for figure," p. 1, "as the French, who are certainly the most polite nation in the world, and can praise and court with a better grace than the rest of mankind."

I did not intend to "put on the spectacles," p. 2, of "The present State of England," written by Dr. Chamberlain; nor any survey of the same: for, trusting to my eyes, "I had a mind to see without them."

"But, to content you, Reader, I promise not to trouble you with ceremonies, either of state, or church, or politicks," *ibid.* for, though I met with an English gentleman, who profered to shew me the princes of the blood, the prime ministers of state, the lord mayor and other officers belonging to "a city of so immense a greatness as that of London;" yet I refused the civility; and told him, "that I took more pleasure to see honest John Sharp of Hackney, in his white frock, crying, Turneps, ho! four bunches a penny! than Sir Charles Cottrel making room for an ambassador; and I found myself better disposed and more apt to learn the physiognomy of a hundred *weeds*, than of five or six princes." P. 3.

"I arrived at London, after a tedious journey, in bad weather; for I fell sick upon the road, and lay dangerously ill of the *tooth-ach*." P. 4.

"I believe I did not see the tithe of what deserves to be seen; because for many things I wanted a relish, particularly for painting and building:" though I confess the grandeur of a

{ The pages of reference throughout this tract correspond to similar passages in Dr. Lister's "Journey to Paris."

city chiefly consists in buildings; and I verily believe London to be one of "the most beautiful and magnificent in Europe." P. 5.

It is also most certain, that the common people of London live dispersed in single houses; "whereas, in Paris, there are from four to five and to ten menages, or distinct families, in many houses:" from whence I infer that, as to the commonalty, "Paris may be more populous than London," although perhaps their dwelling may not be so wholesome and cleanly.

I found "the houses some of hewn stone entire, some of brick with free stone;" as "the Crown Tavern upon Ludgate Hill," and "the corner-house of Birchin Lane," and several others. P. 7.

Divers of the citizens houses have port-cochers, to drive in a coach, or a cart either; and consequently have courts within, and mostly remises to set them up." Such persons as have no port-cochers, and consequently no courts or remises, set up their coaches at other places, and let their horses stand at livery. P. 8.

"The cellar windows of most houses are grated with strong bars of iron," to keep thieves out; and Newgate is grated up to the top, to keep them in. "Which must be a vast expence!" Ibid.

"As the houses are magnificent without," so they furnish them within accordingly. But I could not find that they had any "bureaus of ivory." P. 9.

Upon viewing the braziers and turners shops," I found it true, what my countryman Monsieur Justel formerly told me, "that, according to his catalogue, there were near threescore utensils and conveniences of life more in England than in France." But then the English, since the breach of their commerce with France, lie under great necessities of several commodities fitting for the ease and support of human life, as "counterfeit pearl necklaces," p. 142, fans, tooth-picks, and tooth-pick-cases; and especially prunes, the calamity of which has been so great for ten years last past, that they have not had enough to lay round their plum-porridge at Christmas.

I must, to give a faithful account, descend even to the kennels. "The gutters are deep, and lain with rough edges, which make the coaches not to glide easily over them;" but occasion an employment for an industrious sort of people, called kennel-rakers.

"The

“The squares in London are many and very beautiful,” as St. James’s, Soho, Bloomsbury, Red-lion, Devonshire “none of the largest,” and Hogsdon “not yet finished.” P. 10.

“But that which makes the dwelling in this city very diverting; is the facility of going out into the fields;” as to Knightbridge, where is an excellent spring-garden; to Mary le bon, where is a very good bowling-green; Islington, as famous for cakes, as Stepney or Chelsea is for buns. Ibid.

“But to descend to a more particular review of this great city, I think it not amiss to speak first of the streets,” p. 11.

There are “coaches” in the streets, “which are very numerous; but the fiacres are not hung with double springs at the four corners, which springs would insensibly break all jolts,” p. 12. So that I found the case altered in England; and I, that had rather ride in a fiacre at Paris than in the easiest chariot of a Lord Ambassador; to my great astonishment, at London, found that in a hackney coach there was “not a jolt but what affected a man;” from whence I drew these surprizing conclusions: First, “that a hackney is a miserable *voiture*;” and next, “that a man may be more tired in an hour in that, than in six hours riding in my Lord Ambassador’s easiest chariot.”

I saw a boy that had harnessed two dogs, which drew a small *voiture* with a burden in it; and I saw a little Master in a little *vinegrette*, “drawn along by two boys” much bigger than himself, and “pushed behind by a maid.” These “I was willing to omit, as thinking them at first sight scandalous, and a very jest; they being wretched businesses in so magnificent a city,” p. 13.

Finding “that neither post-chaises & nor *rouillions* were in use in London;” I told them of them—“how both horses pull, but one only is in the thilles; how the coachman mounts the *rouillion*, but for the chaise he only mounts the side horse; and that they might be introduced to good purpose.” But I found the English curiosity so small, that I did not see any *rouillion* made during my six months stay in London.

g The first coach ever publicly seen in England was the equipage of Henry Fitz-Alan, who became earl of Arundel in 1543, and died in 1579. That vehicle was invented by the French; who also invented the post-chaise, which was introduced by Mr. Tull, son of the well-known writer on husbandry. Granger, vol. I. p. 193. The present age is also indebted to France for the introduction of the *diligence*.

“As for their recreations and walks; St. James’s Park is frequented by people of quality;” who, if they have a mind to “have better and freer air, drive to Hyde Park,” where is a ring for the coaches to drive round; and hard by is Mrs. Price’s, where are incomparable syllabubs. “Out of the other parts of the town,” they go to Hampstead and Cane Wood (an admirable place for nuts, as Mother Huff’s for bottled ale), “scarce any fide amifs,” p. 14. I had almost forgotten that in St. James’s Park “are many seats, for the entertainment of all people, the lacqueys and mob excepted; but of this more hereafter.”

“It is pretty to observe how the magistrates indulge the inhabitants of this great city, by this small instance:” for whereas “in Paris the King has caused the citizens to take down their signs, and not to exceed a small measure of square;” in London, they may be of what measure they please, even to a monstrous bigness^h; as my great curiosity observed, in the sign of the Ship Tavern, and the Castle Tavern in Fleet-street, which has almost *obscured* the Sun; and barbers hang out poles of a great huge length, almost as long as a mizen-mast, p. 16.

“There are a great many public Inns in London, where lodgings are to be let;” as the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate-street, the Saracen’s Head in Friday-street, the White Horse in Fleet-street, and others. But, besides these, there are divers other places so called; as Clifford’s Inn, Clement’s Inn, Lion’s Inn, &c. where several “Gentlemen,” practitioners of the law, reside. “This seems as it were to denote” that heretofore Attorneys might lodge in “Public Inns” as well as other “strangers.”

“In the river of Thames, both above bridge and below, are vast numbers of boats, of wood, hay, charcoal, corn, wine, and other commodities.” When a frost comes, there are not so many: “But, when a thaw comes, they are often in danger of being split and crushed to pieces;” and, upon my word, “there have been great losses to the owners of such boats and goods” upon these occasions, p. 17. The reason why there are more boats below bridge than above, is because there is a Custom-house,

^h Whether it be with a view to excel our polite neighbours or not, is immaterial; but these “signs of monstrous bigness” are in the present age totally annihilated.

which

which brings into the King of England a revenue able to defend the sovereignty of the seas against any enemy whatsoever; and the reason why there lie so many hundred large vessels of all sorts, and of all nations, is because they cannot get through bridge, *beigh!* and there are a great many light boats, loaden with brooms, gingerbread, tobacco, and a dram of the bottle, *ho!* Above bridge, is a vast boat, with a house upon it, and a garden in the garret; and further up the river, at Chelsea, is a land-ship, very large, built on purpose never to go to sea.

There are "beggars" in London, and people whose necessities force them to ask relief from such as they think able to afford it, p. 20.

But there are no "Monks, who declare against marriage." And a certain learned person told me, that he did not like "starved Monks;" but that he was for "free marriage;" and that "the flesh-eaters will ever defend themselves, if not beat the lenten men." Therefore he was entirely for propagation, "that men might be like the stars in the firmament, or the shells and sand upon the sea-shore," p. 21: and so, notwithstanding any circumstances of life, age, or fortune, should marry; and that it was as prudent in an old man of threescore and ten, as in a youth of one and twenty.

"There is a great deal of noise in this city, of public cries of things to be sold, and great disturbance from pamphlets and hawkers. The Gazettes come out twice a week, and a great many buy them." When a thing is lost, they do not, as in Paris, put "a printed paper on the wall:" but, if it be of small value, the bell-man cries it; and if it be a thing of greater moment, as for example a Lap-dog, &c. then they put it in the advertisements.

"The streets are lighted all the winter; but there is an impertinent usage of the people at London, not to light them when the moon shines." They ridiculously defend themselves, by saying they can see by moonshine, and have no more reason to hold a candle to the moon than to the sun. "There were three young gentlemen of good families, in a frolick," went a scouring, "broke the lights," and were sent to the Counter; and could not be released thence without diligent application of friends, and paying garnish to their fellow-prisoners, p. 23.

"The avenues to the city, and all the streets, are paved with

“pebbles, flints, and rag-stones; and there is great care to keep them clean. In winter, for example, upon melting of the ice,” you shall see all the prentices and porters up in arms, with brooms and paring-shovels, “so that, in a few hours time, all parts of the town are to admiration clean and neat again to walk on,” p. 24.

“I could heartily wish” I had been at London “in summer,” to have seen whether they have “more dust” at London than in Paris, p. 25. I have notwithstanding, in my *curious* enquiries after “dust,” found that there are many dust-carts about the town; and there are several women that take delight, and, as I have heard, pay money to ride in them. A fine lady about the town was taken thence; and, upon her change of clean linen, took upon herself the title of Clinderaxa.

There are several statues, at Charing-Cross, in the City, and at the Exchange: but my relish being not for Art, but Nature, as I have before declared, I think fit to meddle with them as little as I can.

I happened to go with a lady to Hyde Park Corner, where in an open area we saw several naked statues; at which she, “out of a fond humour, or hot fit of devotion,” p. 29, took some offence. I told her, “Cicero somewhere says, that some of the ancient wise men thought there was nothing naturally obscene; but that every thing might be called by its own name,” p. 30. She told me, I was making an apology for talking obscenely. I replied, No; but added, “Why should nudity be so offensive, since a very great part of the world yet desires cloaths, and ever did so; and the parts they do most affect to cover, are from a certain necessity only?” Ibid. At which she blushed; and I, for the sake of further discourse, began a long story about Roman cloaths; and told her, “a Roman was as soon undressed as I can put off my gloves and shoes: for he had nothing to do but to loose the girdle of the Tunica, and to draw up both his arms from under the Tunica,” p. 31; and he was in bed immediately: whereas I had a hundred fatigues to undergo, as unbuttoning my collar, untying my knee-strings, and several other things that would make a man impatient to think of. I told her likewise it was “after the first ages of the Commonwealth,” that they found out the invention of “putting a shirt next the skin,” *ibid.*; that as for ruffles and steenkirks, “they

“they were never added in the very splendour and luxury of the “Empire,” p. 32. I continued my discourse, that “I much admired I could never meet with a statue in London, but was “cloathed with a *toga pura*, and no representation of a bullated “one,” *ibid.* I told her, that the Romans indeed “wore flannel “shirts; but, in my mind, a fair linen shirt every day is as great a “preservative to neatness and cleanness of the skin,” as going to the Bagno “was to the Romans,” p. 33. The lady smiled; and told me, “Sir, I am glad you have cloathed the poor creatures “that we found naked.” This, seeming to be spoken in a ridiculous way, something provoked me; but, “spying a little statue” of Mother Shipton, whose face “was deep within the quoifure,” says I, “Madam, this woman looks as if she were “ashamed of “her cheat,” p. 34. It was the fancy of King Henry the Eighth’s time, “to make old women Prophetesses:” but I think to make them *Sage* and *Venefice* (that is, in plain English, Sorceresses and Poisoners), “is reasonable enough; for age makes all people “spiteful, but more the weaker sex.” So we parted in chagrin; for I believe the lady, modestly speaking, was upwards of fifty.

I heard of several persons, that had great collections of rarities, pictures, and statues. But I was resolved to visit but a few, and those the most *curious*; and, when I made any observations, that they should be to the purpose.

So I visited Mr. Doncaster. “He entertained me very civilly.” He has “a very fine octogon room, with a dome.” He has very fine pictures; though I must confess, as before, “I have no relish for “painting.” He shewed me some “pictures of Rubens, in which “the allegoric assistants in the *tableaux* are very airy, and fancifully set out.” He shewed me likewise one of Vandyck; but, “being painted in dishabille, it had a foppish night-gown and “old quoifure: which led me into this reflection, that the modern painters have hereby an opportunity to be idle,” p. 40. He has several other curiosities; among the rest, was “a Roman “glass, whose very bottom was smooth and very little umbilicated,” p. 38. He shewed me likewise a great rummer of two quarts, very proper for Rhenish wine and lemon and sugar in the midst of summer; I found that the foot of the latter was anore *umbilicated* than the former. He then diverted me with a copy of the writing, said to be the Devil’s writing, kept in Queen’s College in Oxford. Upon which I began the discourse of these

matters. I told him, that "the Chinese were very much embarrassed in their writing, as this writing seemed to be." P. 48. "But I was rather inclined to think this the *Boustrophedon* way, mentioned by Suidas, like the racers about the *meta* in the "Cirque," p. 51. But I could not find that he had any apprehension of the matter. In this collection I saw "a miller's thumb," p. 48; he told me, it was taken by a miller with his thumb and fore-finger. It is "very like a *bippocampus* as to the "thick belly and breast of it." With this I was extremely pleased; and am infinitely obliged to this Mr. Doncaster: for he shewed me several sorts of "tadpoles" and "sticklebacks," which, only for bigness, are not much unlike a "pope" or "ruff," and presented me with one of them, which I design to give a draught of,

I was to visit Mr. Muddifond. I was sorry to hear that he had "some thoughts" concerning "the heart of a hedgehog," which had made "a very great breach betwixt Mr. Goodenough and himself," p. 66, 67. I could have wished I might have reconciled the animosity. "But it is to be hoped there may come good from an honest emulation." I had several discourses with Mr. Muddifond, about "an old cat and a young kitling in an air pump, and how the cat died after 16 pumps, "but the kitling survived 500 pumps," p. 69. Upon which, he fell into a learned discourse, of the lives of cats; and at last agreed upon this distinction, That it might not be said that *cats*, but that *kitlings*, have nine lives. And, "after the dispute ended, he very obligingly procured me a human heart," *ibid*. But I must confess the generosity of the English in this; for not many days after Mr. Baddington "procured me another," p. 71; which was extremely grateful.

I was commended by a friend to Mr. Brownworth, a person that belongs to the Tower of London. He is a civil Gentleman; but his genius led him more to politicks than curiosity. He profered to shew me the new Armoury, in which are arms, as he told me, for above a hundred thousand men, all disposed in a manner most surprizing and magnificent; as likewise another Armoury, where are arms for twenty thousand men more. He would likewise have shewn me the Horse Armoury, a royal train of artillery, and several cannons taken out of the Trident prize. He would likewise have carried me to see the crown imperial

perial and other jewels belonging to it. I humbly thanked him; and told him, that my "curiosity" led me otherwise, and "that my observations inclined rather to nature than dominion," p. 2. Upon which, smiling, he said, he hoped he should gratify me; and immediately led me to a place where we saw lions, tigers, and two very remarkable cat-mountains. I took more particular notice of two "owls, of an immense greatness," but, "by their being without horns," I take them *not* "to be a distinct species from the European," p. 73.

But that with which I was most delighted was a calf-skin stuff: it was admirable to behold. A certain tumor, or excrescence, it had upon its forehead, in all points resembling the comodes or top-knots now in fashion. Upon this, I expressed my thanks to Mr. Brownsworth in the most obliging terms I could. He then told me, the royal mint was not far off; upon which, I said, I was a great admirer of coins, and desired him to give me an account of what coins there were in England. He began to tell me, "That, about three years ago, the current coin of the kingdom consisted of old money, coined by several kings; that those coins were clipt and debased to a very great degree, but that the King, with the advice of his Parliament, in the very height of the war with France, had established a paper credit (or, if you please to call it, coin) of bills issued out of the Exchequer, and notes from the Royal Bank of England, amounting to prodigious sums; that at present all our silver is in milled money, either of the two last Kings, or his present Majesty, of which there is so great a quantity, that posterity will be apt to think that there were scarce any Prince that ever coined before him. This money and credit have circulated so far, and are in so great a plenty, that, in a late subscription to a new East India Company, two millions Sterling were subscribed in less than two days time, and as much more excluded."—I believe the man would have ran on till evening, if I had not thus interrupted him. Sir, said I, I beg you to consider, that I am a *Virtuoso*, and that your present discourse is quite out of my element. Sir, you would oblige me much more, if you could find me any coin from Palmira, p. 97; more particularly of Zenobia, Oedenatus, or Vabalathus; and that I preferred a VABALATHVS VCRIMPR. OF A VABALATHVS AVG. p. 115, before twenty of the best pieces of gold coined in the

Tower. The Gentleman very civilly replied, that he would endeavour to satisfy my curiosity; that he had at home two rusty copper pieces, with which he intended to present me (which he accordingly did the next day); that he had been told, by a person of the *belles lettres*, that they were dug out of the Isle of Scilly; and that one was of Catathumpton, a Saxon prince, the other of Goclenia his daughter and successor: they have both very odd characters (if *any*) about them, and I design to give the Reader a cut of them. P. 121.—The evening coming on, and my thanks returned to him, we parted.

“I was to see Mr. Shuttleworth, whose friendship I greatly value. He has many *stones* from Scotland. There is one, the most curious of all, concerning which he is ready to publish a Dissertation. It is a catalogue in three columns, of the names of the most principal persons that were killed at Chevy Chace.” Widdrington “closes the column;” and after his name there is a noble Pindaric, in which he is recorded, upon the cutting off his legs, to have *fought upon his stumps*. Of the antiquity of this *stone*, besides the known history and names which justify the times of those men, the figure of the letters,” and the blackness of them, particularly of the word *stumps*, are “undoubted arguments,” p. 46, 47.

He shewed me a thousand other rarities, “as the skin of a Cape ass, many very excellent land-snails, a fresh-water muscle from Chatham; a thin oyster; p. 60, 61; also a very large wood frog, with the extremity of the toes webbed.” p. 73.

He shewed me “some papers of Swammerdam, in which were some small treatises, or rather some figures only, of the Tadpole.” Again, “Figures relating to the natural history of a certain day butterfly, and of some considerable number of snails, as well naked as fluviatile,” p. 103.

He shewed me “a vast number of great cases, in which were play-things, or puppets,” p. 43; all of them brought from France, except one “Sistrum, or Ægyptian rattle, with three loose or running wires cross it,” p. 111. I profered him my assistance, to complete so useful a collection as that of play-things and rattles,

“I was infinitely pleased” with this Gentleman’s company; especially when “he shewed me a Dissertation he had written out

“fair

“ fair for the press, about a certain ancient Intaglia of Madame’s, of Ptolomeus Auletes, or the player upon the flute; in this, he said, the thin muffler was the most remarkable.” Upon this, I told him, that I had a Dissertation concerning the “ remarkable thickness and thinness of mufflers;” with which I would present him, p. 50.

“ One toy I took notice of, which was a collection of tennis-balls, for three hundred years or more,” p. 93; some of them were sent by a French King to King Henry V: and there are patterns of all that the English have sent back, from the bigness of the smallest-bored musquet, to the shells of the largest mortars.

I went to see an old woman (that shall be nameless). “ She was 91 years of age. I was surprized to find her body in ruins. It was a perfect mortification to see the sad decays of nature. To hear her talk, with her lips hanging about a toothless mouth, and her words flying abroad at random. This put me in mind of the Sibyls uttering oracles;” and how other “ old women,” called witches, have been since “ employed on this errand,” and have at very unreasonable times of night been forced to bestride their broom-staff on such like occasions.

I would have seen a very famous Library, near St. James’s Park: but I was told, that the learned Library-keeper was so busy in answering a Book which had been lately written against him, concerning Phalaris, that it would be rudeness any ways to interrupt him; though I had heard of his “ singular humanity,” both in France and other places¹.

“ I was at an auction of books,” at Tom’s Coffee-house, near Ludgate, “ where were above fifty people. Books were sold with a great deal of trifling and delay, as with us,” but very *cheap*,” p. 136;” those excellent Authors Monsieur Maimbourg, Monsieur Varillas, and Monsieur le Grand, though they were all gilt on the back, and would have made a very considerable figure in a gentleman’s study, yet after much tediousness were sold for such trifling sums that I am ashamed to name them.

“ The pox here is the great business of the town. This secret service has introduced little contemptible animals of all sorts into business; and quacks here, as with us, do thrive

¹ “ Wits are game-cocks to one another.”—Our Author could not let slip so fair an opportunity of lashing Dr. Bentley,

“ vastly unto great riches. It was very pleasant diversion to me;
 “ to read upon the walls, every where about the town, the quacks
 “ bills in great uncial letters; as,

“ *Aqua Tetrachymogon* ^k.

“ Another,

“ Read, try, judge, and speak as you find.

“ Another,

“ The unborn doctor ^l, that cures all diseases. He is to be
 “ spoke with at a boiling cook’s, in Old Bedlam, from ten till
 “ two; and afterwards at his stage in Moorfields.

“ Another,

“ At the Golden Ball, and Lilly’s ^m Head,

“ John Cafe ⁿ lives, tho’ Saffold’s ^o dead.

^k This hard word drew great shoals of spectators about it; who read the bill, that it introduced, with an unspeakable curiosity; and, when they were sick, would have none but this learned man for their Physician. See Tatler, No 240; an Essay which was probably written by our Author.

^l The genius, who assumed this extraordinary title, is said to have amassed a fortune of five hundred pounds a year.

^m Of Lilly, see above, p. 161.

ⁿ John Cafe was many years a noted practitioner in physic and astrology. He was looked upon as the successor of Lilly and of Saffold, and possessed the magical utensils of both. He erased the verses of his predecessor from the sign-post, and substituted in their stead this distich, by which he is said to have got more than Dryden did by all his Works,

“ Within this place

“ Lives Doctor CASE.”

And was doubtless very well paid for composing that which he affixed to his pill-boxes,

“ Here’s fourteen pills for thirteen pence;

“ Enough in any man’s own con-science.”

He published, in 1697, one of the most profound astrological pieces the world ever saw, called, “ The Angelical Guide, shewing Men and Women their chance in this elementary Life,” in four books. The diagrams in this work would probably have puzzled Euclid, though he had studied astrology. In Mr. Pope’s account of the phrenzy of John Dennis, Dr. Cafe is sent for, to attend him; whence it is probable that he was living in Queen Anne’s reign.

^o Saffold was the immediate successor of Lilly, in the studies both of Physic and Astrology; to which he added that of Poetry, as was to be seen upon the sign where he lived, and in the bills he distributed.

By

“By these bills, it is evident, there is yet a certain modesty and decorum left, in concealing this disease,” p. 236, 237; and people, though they may have failings in private, do not care to expose themselves to the public. There are “women,” p. 238, who are seventh daughters, that do admirable cures; and there are people that can pick pockets, and afterward, by consulting the stars, tell you who it was that did it.

I met with a gentleman, that told me a secret, “That the old Romans, in their luxury, took their tea and chocolate after a full meal; and every man was his own cook in that case;” particularly “Caesar,” that most admirable and most accomplished prince, “being resolved to eat and drink to excess before he lay down to table, *emeticon* agebat, prepared for himself his chocolate and tea,” p. 168. He presented me with a Roman teadish and a chocolate-pot; which I take to be about Augustus’s time, because it is very rusty. My maid, very ignorantly, was going to scour it, and had done me “an immense” damage.

I saw several gardens at Kingsland. “The gardener was an artist, and had some plants in cases in good order, not to be seen elsewhere, as *marum Syriacum*, *rosemary-bushes*, &c.” p. 187.

I was at Chelsea; “where I took particular notice of these plants in the green-house at that time, p. 183.” As,—*Urtica male olens Japoniæ*, the stinking nettle of Japan.—*Goosberia sterilis Armeniæ*, the Armenian goosberry-bush, that bears no fruit: “this had been potted thirty years.”—*Cordis Quies Persiæ*; which the English call “Heart’s-ease,” or “Love and Idleness;” a very curious plant.—*Brambelia fructificans Laplandiæ*, or the blooming bramble of Lapland.—With a hundred other curious plants; as, a particular collection of briars and thorns, which were some part of the curse of the creation.

“The winter was very rude and fierce. Multitudes had little tin kettles in their houses, with “small-coal kindled,” p. 229, to light their pipes withal; though in some places they use candles, in others salamanders.

I was at Bartholomew Fair, p. 176. “It consists of most toy-shops, also fiance and pictures; ribbon-shops; no books; many shops of confectioners, where *any woman* may commodiously be treated. Knavery is here in perfection, as with us; as detrous cut-purses and pick-pockets.” I went to see the dancing

on the ropes, which was admirable. Coming out, I met a man that would have taken off my hat; but I secured it, and was going to draw my sword, crying out, "Begar! Damned Rogue! "Morbleu!" &c. when on a sudden I had a hundred people about me, crying, "Here, Monsieur, see Jephtha's rash vow"—"Here, Monsieur, see the tall Dutchwoman"^P—"See the tiger,"—says another.—"See the horse and no horse, whose tail stands where his head should do."—"See the German Artist, Monsieur."—"See the Siege of Namur, Monsieur."—So that, betwixt rudeness and civility, I was forced to get into a *fiacre*, and, with "an air of haste and a full trot," got home to my lodgings.

I was at St. James's-Park. There were no "pavillions, nor decoration of treillage and flowers;" but I saw there a vast number of *ducks*. These were "a most surprizing sight. I could not forbear to say to Mr. Johnson, who was pleased to accompany me in this walk, that sure all the ponds in England had contributed to this profusion of *ducks*; which he took so well," that he ran immediately to an old gentleman that sat in a chair, and was feeding of them; who rose up, "very obligingly embraced me, and saluted me with a kiss," and invited me to dinner, telling me, he was infinitely obliged to me for flattering the King's ducks.



Of the FOOD of the LONDONERS.

"The diet of the Londoners consists chiefly of bread and *meat*," which they use instead of *herbs*. "Bread is there, as in Paris, finer and coarser," according as they take out the bran. This I observed, that whereas we have a great deal of cabbage and but a little bit of meat, they will have monstrous pieces of beef (I think they call them *rumps* and *buttocks*) with a few carrots, that stand at a distance, as if they were frightened; nay, I have

^P A famous rope-dancer. Mr. Granger has given an account of her, vol IV. p. 352; and, in p. 211, of Jacob Hall, who was of the same profession, and is represented as "a man of symmetry and elegance, as well as strength and agility: he was much admired by the ladies, who regarded him as a due composition of Hercules and Adonis." Both Hall and the Dutch-woman are celebrated in Purcell's well known catch on the humours of Bartholomew Fair,

seen

seen a thing they call a *fir-loin*, without any herbs at all, so immense, that a French footman could scarce set it upon the table.

They use "very white salt;" notwithstanding "I told them the grey salt of France is incomparably better, and more wholesome," p. 147.

"The common people feed much upon grey pease, of which there are great provisions made, and to be had ready boiled," p. 148. I believe they delight in them most for supper; for every night there goes by a woman crying, "Hot grey pease and bacon!" Though I take pease to be too windy for supper-meat, and am inclinable to believe that hot ox-cheek and baked warden, cried at the same time, may be wholesomer.

"Their roots differ much from ours: there are no long turnips, but round ones; Hackney, near London, is famous for this most excellent root; they are most excellent with boiled and stewed mutton, and sometimes with stewed beef," p. 149.

I found more "cabbage" in London than I expected, and saw a great many reserves "of old stalks in their public gardens." I asked the reason. I was told, the English were fantastic as to herbs and pulse; that one trade or society of men fancied them and cucumbers, and that a whole county were as much admirers of beans and bacon; and this they thought might be the reason of it.

"Lettuce is the great and universal fallad;" but I did not find much "Roman lettuce," because, about ten years ago, a gentleman sending his footman to market, he mistook, and asked for "Papist Lettuce;" and the ill name has hindered the vent of it ever since.

There are several others in the herb-market, as "mint, sorrel, parsley," very much used with chickens white beets, red beets, and asparagus; these they tie up in bundles, and impose so far as not to sell under a hundred at a time. P. 152.

"This city is well served with carp, herrings, cod, sprats, lobsters, and mackarel; of which there are such incredible quantities," that there is a public allowance for *mackarel*, as well as *milk*, to be cried on Sundays. P. 155.

Being desirous to see the markets, I had a friend that one morning carried me to Leaden-hall. I desired to know what

1 Alluding to the Proverb, "Leicestershire Bean-belly."

"mushrooms"

“mushrooms” they had in the market. I found but few; at which “I was surprized:” for I have all my life “been very “curious and inquisitive about this kind of plant,” p. 154: but I was absolutely astonished to find, that as for “champignons” and “moriglio’s,” they were as great strangers to them as if they had been bred in Japan.

He promised to carry me to the flesh-market, p. 157, and there to make me amends; but, when I came there, alas! there was a thousand times too much of it to be good: the sight of such a quantity was enough to surfeit one. I verily believe in my conscience there were more oxen than cabbages, and more legs of mutton than heads of garlick, in the market. What barbarous “soups,” p. 157, then must these poor people eat! “Their veal” has not that beautiful redness which belongs to “ours;” and indeed their mutton seems more like it, only it is fatter; and their beef is large and fat, to that degree, that it is almost impossible to roast it dry enough to make it fit for any Christian (that has the least of our country indisposition about him) to eat it with any safety.

There were several mountains of this beef, which they called “barons and chines;” which, they told me, were for one of the sheriffs. I will undertake, with one of these “chines,” together with cabbage, turnips, and other roots, herbs, and onions proportionable; to make soup enough for the Parliament of Paris.

“The English people, by custom, covet the freshest meat, and “cannot endure the least tendency to putrefaction, which gives it “a higher and saltier taste; for, as meat rots, it becomes more “urinous and salt, which is all in all in the matter of soups.” I saw but one fowl in the market that was fit to be eaten; its smell was delicious, and its colour of a beautiful green: I desired my friend to ask the price, but the poulterer told him it was sold to a French merchant.

I have several other things that I might discourse of; as, “Kentish pippins and pears,” p. 159; “kidney beans and lentils,” p. 148; “preaching, gaming, coaching, carting, walking, sitting, “standing, &c.” p. 174—180. I would likewise have given the Reader the cuts of the *Nidus Trochilli Anglicani*, or wren’s nest, a stickleback, two snails, two grasshoppers, and those admirable coins of *Cacathumpton* and *Goclenia*, but that my Bookseller said the engraver was out of the way. What may be wanting in

this, some other Journeys, that I design, to the Two Universities, Norwich, Bristol, Exeter, Canterbury, and other trading places, I hope, will supply.



Upon reviewing my Notes, I find the following remarkable things omitted in my Treatise; which that the Publick may not want, I have thrown into a Postscript.

“The wines follow, and waters to drink,” p. 160.

Hare-court has excellent water: some people use New River, others Thames water. I told them, that we had several liquors in France; as, “Vin de bonne, volne, mulso, chabre, condrieu;” “and d’arbris, ratafia, otherwise called cherry brandy, vattée;” “fenouillet de l’Isle de Ree,” p. 161—164. He answered me, that he had a thousand such sort of liquors, as “r humtie-dumtie, three-threads, four-threads, old Pharaoh, knockdown, hugmetee, shouldrée, clamber-crown, hot-pots at Newgate-market, fox comb, blind pinneaux, stifle,” &c.

I must not omit a famous sight in Drury Lane, a place remarkable for modesty and piety. There is a sign of *six dogs*, that ploughed an acre of ground, which, I believe, may, for want of horses, be introduced into France *with good effect*. They have very good mastiffs, that may serve for dragoons; but they will scarce fall upon Protestants.

* This enumeration of English beverages furnished Dr. Bentley with an endless fund of merriment against our Author.

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SOME

S O M E
R E M A R K S
O N
T H E T A L E O F A T U B.

First printed in 1704.

To which is now annexed,

AN ANSWER to a BOOK, which will be published next Week, intituled, "A LETTER to the Reverend Dr. SOUTH, upon Occasion of a late Book, intituled, Animadversions on Dr. SHERLOCK'S Book, intituled, "A Vindication of the Holy and Ever-blessed TRINITY." Being a LETTER to the AUTHOR.

The "Answer to a Book to be published next Week" had an odd effect; for it was answered about a fortnight after, and about four of the impression of the Book itself, with the Answer adjoined, were sold; and the remainder lie still by the wall, if not used as waste paper.

Dr. KING'S Preface to his Miscellanies.

Who the Gentleman of the Long Robe was, that entered into the Trinitarian controversy as a second to Dr. Sherlock, appears not at this distance; nor the exact time in which Dr. King's little Essay was written. Dr. South's "Animadversions" were published in 1693; and Dr. Sherlock defended himself in 1694. South again replied; and great men espoused the cause of each. The victory was finally adjudged to Dr. South; but not till both the disputants, together with Dr. Thomas Bennet, Master of the Charterhouse, had been ridiculed in the smart Ballad which, as a curiosity, we have printed in p. 211.—Dr. William Sherlock was born in 1641. He was master of the Temple, and dean of St. Paul's; and died June 19, 1707.—Dr. Robert South was born in 1633. Among many other preferments, he was a canon of Christ Church, and a prebendary of Westminster. He died July 8, 1716.

P R E F A C E.

S OMEBODY, without the Author's knowledge, having thought fit to print "Mully of Mountown^b," as also "Orpheus and Eurydice^b" under the title of "The Fairy Feast," in the latter of which above one third of the Poem is omitted; it may therefore be thought a piece of justice to the Author, as well as the Courteous Readers, to give them a true copy. The Publisher is assured by the Author, that there is no mysterious meaning in either of them, nor any Politicks.

He has further in charge to tell the world, from the same Gentleman, that he had no hand in writing the "Tale of a Tub^c." He happened one day to discourse more largely than ordinarily of that Book, with one of his Friends; and found the following "Remarks^d" the next morning laid upon his table.

^b These two Poems were annexed to the "Remarks," in the Author's edition of 1704. They are now classed, among the other pieces in verse, in our Third Volume.

^c In the collection of State Poems, 1707, vol. IV. "Mully of Mountown" is printed, and said to be by "The Author of the Tale of a Tub."

^d These "Remarks" were become so scarce, that Dr. Hawkesworth tells us, in a note on Swift's Apology, "the oldest booksellers remember nothing of their title."—Dr. Swift himself says, Apology, p. xiv. "He has seen the productions but of two answerers; one of which at first appeared as from an unknown hand, but since avowed by a person, who upon some occasions hath discovered no ill vein of humour. It is pity any occasion should put him under a necessity of being so hasty in his productions, which otherwise might often be entertaining. But there were other reasons obvious enough for his miscarriage in this; he wrote against the conviction of his

“talent, and entered upon one of the wrongest attempts in nature, to turn into ridicule by a week’s labour a work, which had cost so much time, and met with so much success in ridiculing others: the manner how he handled his *subject* I have now forgotten; having just looked it over, when it first came out, as others did, merely for the sake of the title.”—Nothing can be more in the Dean’s manner, than this description of our Author and his “Remarks;” which did not prevent his experiencing the friendship of Swift when a proper occasion required it.—“The other answer (*ibid.*) is from a person of a “graver character” [Dr. Wotton]; and is made up of half “investive, and half annotation, in the latter of which he hath “generally succeeded well enough.”—So well indeed, that Dr. Swift has pressed him into a service, in which, it has been well observed, “Wotton appears busied to illustrate a work which he “laboured to condemn, and adds force to a satire pointed against “himself: as captives were bound to the chariot-wheels of the “victor, and compelled to increase the pomp of his triumph, “whom they had in vain attempted to defeat.”

R E M A R K S, &c.

Gravel-lane, in Old-street, June 10, 1704.

HONOURED SIR,

IT may lie in the power of the meanest person to do a service or a disservice to the greatest, according as his inclination or his due respect may lead him; which is the true occasion of my writing you this Letter, to shew you that a person in the lowest circumstances in the world may still have a concern to do good; as I hope it is yours to do so to every body else. Although I believe you know not me; yet I have known you from a child, and am certain you cannot forget Mr. Seyley ^e the chimney-sweeper; any more than you can your neighbour the small-coal-man at Clerkenwell, at whose musick-meeting I have often performed a part in your hearing, and have seen you several times at the auction of his Books, which were a curiosity that I could have wished you had been able to have purchased.

I own that I am a person, as far as my capacity and other circumstances will give me leave, desirous of my own improvement and knowledge, and therefore look into all Books that may contribute towards them. It is natural for every person to look after things in their own way. The Fisherman asks for "The Compleat Angler;" the Jockey, for "Markham ^f;" the Pick-pocket, for "Duval" and "The German Princess;" the Vintner for "Charlton's Mystery;" the Good Woman for "Boyle's Family Receipts;" the Shoe-maker, for "Crispin and Crispianus;" the Charcoal-man, for "Crim the Collier of Croydon;" the Taylor, for "Gammar Gurton's Needle;" the Pastry-cook, for "The Man that was choaked with Custard at Newberry;"

^e A print of "Seyley the chimney-sweeper, and his boy;" whose bass and treble voices were generally heard in the streets about six o'clock in the morning, is described by Mr. Granger, vol. IV. p. 355.

^f Joseph Markham, who had a captain's commission in the civil war, was the author of the "Perfect Horse-man;" "The whole Art of Angling;" and several other treatises. See an account of him in Granger, vol. II. p. 337.

the young Heirefs, for "Love-letters between a Nun and a Cavalier," or "Nobleman and his Sister;" and the Despairing Lover, for the Play of "Cupid's Whirligig^g."

Now, Sir, I must own, that it has been my fortune to find very few that tend any way to my own employment; I have not been able to meet with "Tartaretus," a Book mentioned by Dr. Eachard^b; nor with several Authors quoted by Mr. Harrington, that great commonwealth's-man, in his incomparable treatise^c of "The Metamorphosis of A-Jax^k."

But at last it happened that, as I was returning from my *nightly* vocation, which, beginning between eleven and twelve in the evening, generally employs me till the dawn of the succeeding morning; and being melancholy that I had not found so much gold that night as I might be supposed to have done either by my wife or my neighbours; I saw a fellow passing up the title-pages of Books at the corners of the streets; and there, among others, I saw one called "The Tale of a Tub:" which imagining to be a satire upon my profession, I ordered one of my myrmidons to attack the fellow, and not to box him, but give him two or three gentle stroaks over the nostrils; till at last the fellow, being of a ready wit, as having to do with all sorts of Authors, promised to go to Mr. Nutt's for one of the copies; and that, if he did not convince me that it was a more scandalous libel upon the Author of that foolish Tale, than it could be upon any one else, he would engage that I should set him astride upon one of my barrels, whenever I should meet him publishing any thing printed for the same Stationer.

Sir, pardon me, if I fancy you may, by what I have said, guess at my profession: but I desire you not to fear, for I declare to you that I affect cleanliness to a nicety. I mix my ink with

^g A Comedy of the last century.

^b Dr. John Eachard, master of Catharine-Hall. Lawrence Echard, the Historian, who was his relation, spelt his name differently.

^c A severe satire on many persons in high stations in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The Author of it incurred much censure among the great, and even from the Queen herself. But his high estimation with that Princess secured an unexpected forgiveness. See "Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. II. p. 245.

^k This possibly gave Dr. Swift the hint for the *true* etymology of this and some other names. See his Works, vol. XV. p. 475.

rose or orange-flower-water, my serutoire is of cedar-wood, my wax is scented, and my paper lies amongst sweet bags. In short, I will use you with a thousand times more respect than the Bookseller of the "Tale of a Tub" does a noble Peer, under the pretence of a Dedication¹; or than the Author does his Readers.

It was not five a clock when I had performed a severe penance; for I had read over a piece of nonsense, inscribed "To his Royal Highness Prince Posterity;" where there is so considerable an aim at nothing, and such an accomplishment of that design, that I have not in my library met any thing that equals it. I never gave over till I had read his Tale, his Battle, and his Fragment: I shall speak of the series and style of those three treatises hereafter. But the first remarkable story that I found was that, about the twenty-second page, concerning a fat fellow crowding to see a Mountebank. I expected to have found something witty at the end: but it was all of a piece; so stuffed with curses, oaths, and imprecations, that the most profligate criminal in New-prison would be ashamed to repeat it.

I must take notice of one other particular piece of nonsense, and no more; where he says, p. 52, "That the ladder is an adequate symbol of faction and of poetry. Of faction, because * * * * *Hiatus in* " *Mf.* * * * Of poetry, because its orators do *perorare* with a song." The true reasons why I do not descend to more particulars is, because I think the three treatises (which, by their harmony in dirt, may be concluded to belong to one Author) may be reduced to a very small compass, if the common-places following were but left out. But the Author's first aim is, to be profane; but that part I shall leave to my betters, since matters of such a nature are not to be jested with, but to be punished.

The second is, to shew how great a proficient he is, at hectoring and bullying, at ranting and roaring, and especially at cursing and swearing. He makes his persons of all characters full of their oaths and imprecations; nay, his very spider has his share, and, as far as in the Author lies, he would transmit his impiety to things that are irrational.

¹ The Dedication to Lord Somers is written in the character of the Bookseller; the Author's Dedication being addressed to "Prince Posterity."

His third is, to exceed all bounds of modesty. Men who are obliged by necessity to make use of uncommon expressions, yet have an art of making all appear decent; but this Author, on the other side, endeavours to heighten the worst colours, and to that end he searches his antient Authors for their lewdest images, which he manages so as to make even impudence itself to blush at them.

His next is, a great affectation for every thing that is nasty. When he spies any object that another person would avoid looking on, that he embraces. He takes the air upon dung-hills, in ditches, and common-shoars, and at my Lord Mayor's dog-kennel. In short, almost every part has a tincture of such filthiness, as renders it unfit for the worst of uses.

By the first of these, he shews his *religion*; by the second, his *conversation*; by the third, his *manners*; and by the fourth, his *education*.

Now were the Crow, who at present struts so much in the gutter, stripped of these four sorts of feathers, he would be left quite naked: he would have scarce one story, one jest, one allusion, one simile, or one quotation. And I do assure Mr. Nutt, that, if he should employ me in my own calling, I would bargain not to foul my utensils with carrying away the Works of this Author. Such were my sentiments upon reading these pieces; when, knowing that no sponge or fair water will clean a Book, when foul ink and fouler notions have sullied the paper, I looked upon the fire as the properest place for its purgation, in which it took no long time to expire.

Now, Sir, you may wonder how you may be concerned in this long story; and why I apply myself to you, in declaring my sentiments of this Author. But I shall shew you my reason for it, before I conclude this my too tedious epistle.

Now, Sir, in the dearth of wit that is at present in the town, all people are apt to catch at any thing that may afford them any diversion; and what they cannot find, they make: and so this Author was bought up by all sorts of people, and every one was willing to make sense of that which had none in it originally. It was sold, not only at court, but in the city and suburbs; but, after some time, it came to have its due value put upon it: the Brewer, the Soap-boiler, the Train-oil-man, were all affronted at

it;

it; and it afforded a long dispute at our Coffee-house over the Gate, who might be the Author.

A certain Gentleman, that is the nearest to you of any person, was mentioned, upon supposition that the Book had Wit and Learning in it. But, when I had displayed it in its proper colours, I must do the company that justice, that there was not one but acquitted you. That matter being dispatched, every one was at their liberty of guessing. One said, he believed it was a Journey-man-taylor in Billeter-lane, that was an idle sort of a fellow, and loved writing more than stitching, that was the Author; his reason was, "because here he is so desirous to mention his Goose and his Garret:" but it was answered, "that he was a member of the Society;" and so he was excused. "But why then," says another, "since he makes such a *parable* upon coats, may he not be Mr. Amy the Coat-feller, who is a Poet and a Wit?" To which it was replied, "That that gentleman's loss had been bewailed in an Elegy some years ago."—"Why may not it be Mr. Gumly the Rag-woman's husband in Turnball-street?" says another. "He is kept by her; and, having little to do, and having an Officer in Monmouth's Army, since the defeat at Sedgemoor^m has always been a violent Tory." But it was urged, "that his style was harsh, rough, and unpolished; and that he did not understand one word of Latin."—"Why then," cries another, "Oliver's porterⁿ had an Amanuensis at
"Bedlam,

^m The duke of Monmouth, with a few of his followers, landed in the West, July 5, 1685; and found himself at the head of a numerous body of plowmen, graziers, and mechanicks; who behaved better in the battle at Sedgemoor, than could have been expected from a rabble of such undisciplined soldiers. Monmouth was found by some country fellows two days after, concealed in a field under some straw, with some pease in his pocket; and on the 15th of July was beheaded.

ⁿ This man, whose Christian name was Daniel, learned much of the cant that prevailed in his master's time. He was a great plodder in books of divinity, especially in those of the mystical kind, which are supposed to have turned his brain. He was many years in Bedlam, where his library was, after some time, allowed him; as there was not the least probability of his cure. The most conspicuous of his books was a Bible given him by Nell Gwynn. He frequently preached, and sometimes prophesied; and was said to have foretold several remarkable events, particularly the fire of London. See Lesley's "Snake in the Grass," p. 330; where we

“Bedlam, that used to transcribe what he dictated: and may not these be some scattered notes of his Master’s?” To which all replied, “that, though Oliver’s porter was crazed, yet his misfortune never let him forget that he was a Christian.” One said, “It was a Surgeon’s man, that had married a Midwife’s nurse:” but, though by the style it might seem probable that two such persons had a hand in it; yet, since he could not name the persons, his fancy was rejected. “I conjecture,” says another, “that it may be a Lawyer, that——” When, on a sudden, he was interrupted by Mr. Markland the Scrivener, “No, rather, by the oaths, it should be an Irish evidence.” At last there stood up a sprant young man, that is Secretary to our Scavenger, and cries, “What if after all it should be a Parson °! for who may make more free with their trade? What if I know him, describe him, name him, and how he and his friends talk of it, admire it, are proud of it.”—“Hold, cry all the company; that function must not be mentioned without respect. We have enough of the dirty subject; we had better drink our coffee, and talk our politicks.”

I doubt not, Sir, but you with the discourse had broke off sooner. Pardon it; for it means well to you, however exprest: for I am to my utmost, &c.

learn, that people went often to hear him preach, “and would sit many hours under his window with great devotion.” Mr. Lesley had the curiosity to ask a grave matron, who was among his auditors, “what she could profit by hearing that madman?” She, with a composed countenance, as pitying his ignorance, replied, “That Festus thought Paul was mad!” Granger, vol. IV. p. 210.

° The Clergyman here alluded to is not the real Author, who was not at that time suspected; but Mr. Thomas Swift, rector of Puttenham in Surrey, whom the Dean, vol. XVI. p. 2, calls his “parson cousin,” and who appears to have taken some pains to be considered as the Author of the “Tale of a Tub.” See vol. XVII. p. 528.

L E T T E R
 TO THE
 A U T H O R O F A B O O K.

S I R,

IF you had been so civil as to have written an ingenuous Letter to Dr. South (as you might have done by the post), instead of printing an unmannerly Pamphlet inscribed to his Name; this paper had never come out: so that you had not troubled me, nor exposed yourself. I am sorry, Sir, you are one of those Lawyers, who in term-time are more employed by Booksellers than Clients; and, instead of keeping Clerks to copy declarations, transcribe your idle notions to the press yourself.—The compositor was very much puzzled with your court-hand!

But why do you think I write this, who am a Physician? It is to save people the expence of buying your Book when it is published; and no doubt, when you appear upon the stalls, they will thank me for it. Your fate there will not be long in deciding; for, whereas other Books are tried a year before they are despaired of, yours will be forgotten in a fortnight.

You begin your Book with these words, "It was my fortune this summer to pass through Casam, &c." Now, Sir, there being no such place in England, I am apt to fancy you have not stirred out of London this long vacation, at least you have no map of Oxfordshire in your chamber. Admit either of these, and I am sure you will appear a very comical blunderer, likely to spy faults in the exactness of the Animadverter. But you proceed like an ingenuous person, and say that, "being a stranger, you desired to wait upon Dr. South."—Very kind, upon my word! Though, for my own part, who have read your Letter, if your conversation be no better than your writing, I would rather have you print against me, than visit me.

You say that you have a friend, to whom Dr. South disowned the Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock; but, by the rest of your Letter, it is evident you mistrust the man's veracity; and so do I too: for (to lay aside other reasons) it is not probable Dr. South would

would make a confident of a man, who is a friend to a Pamphleteer so despicable.

You make an out-cry, up and down your Book, against "impudence, malice, ill-manners," &c. as if you designed to reprove them. But your Book shews, that, whatever use you make of the *words*, the *things* themselves you are plentifully stored with. Hence it is that you so graciously pronounce sentence against the Animadversions, and would deliver them over to be burnt; but "you are afraid the execution would promote the sale."—Send your own Books, Sir; and if, even after some of them have been burnt, the remainder goes off, I will pay the Hangman.

I find you are not much minded in town, by your intelligence: for whereas you confidently affirm that the Animadversions are not licensed, even your Bookseller, who is doubtless the top of your conversation, can inform you otherwise.

I come now to the grand design of your Paper, which is, to desire the world to take notice that "you will meddle with no point of Divinity." And, the Animadversions being on that subject, it is evident you design only to display your wit and language. The King's-bench or the Chancery-bar have never given you an opportunity for it; but you are resolv'd a taste of both shall lye in Westminster-hall however.—"Caveat Emptor!"

Thus, Sir, with great care I have examined your whole Book: and whoever finds more than this Abridgement has touched at, must thank Fortune. However Dr. Sherlock may have been nonplus'd by the Animadverter, I am apt to guess he never sent for you to be his defender; and if the controversy had lain at Common Law, I am confident he would have feed other Counsel. Let me advise you, Sir, to mind Chamber-practice, and pretend to be a Conveyancer; for, by the oratory of this Book, it is evident that you were not cut out for a Pleader.

So, Sir, good bye. I wish you better success next Term.

Your humble Servant, &c.

JAYOR [221]

THE BATTLE ROYAL:

A BALLAD.

I.

A DEAN^a and Prebendary^b
Had once a new vagary,
And were at doubtful strife, Sir,
Who led the better life, Sir,
And was the better man,
And was the better man.

II.

The Dean he said, that truly,
Since Bluff was so unruly,
He'd prove it to his face, Sir,
That he had the most grace, Sir,
And so the fight began, &c.

III.

When PREB replied like thunder,
And roar'd out, 'twas no wonder,
Since Gods the Dean had three, Sir,
And more by two than he, Sir,
For he had got but one, &c.

IV.

Now while these two were raging,
And in dispute engaging,
The Master of the Charter^c
Said, both had caught a Tartar,
For Gods, Sir, there were none, &c.

^a Dr. William Sherlock,

^b Dr. South.

^c Dr. T. Burnet had about this time ridiculed, in his "Archæologia Philosophicæ," the literal account of the Creation of Man, as it stands in the beginning of Genesis; and this, being then thought very heterodox and prophane, as indeed it generally is now, exposed him to the Poet's lash.

V.

That all the books of Moses
 Were nothing but supposes;
 That he deserv'd rebuke, Sir,
 Who wrote the Pentateuch, Sir,
 'Twas nothing but a sham, &c.

VI.

That as for father Adam,
 With Mrs. Eve his madam,
 And what the serpent spoke, Sir,
 'Twas nothing but a joke, Sir,
 And well-invented flam, &c.

VII.

Thus in this Battle Royal
 As none would take denial,
 The Dame for which they strove, Sir,
 Could neither of them love, Sir,
 Since all had given offence, &c.

VIII.

She therefore, slyly waiting,
 Left all three fools a prating;
 And, being in a fright, Sir,
 Religion took her flight, Sir,
 And ne'er was heard of since,
 And ne'er was heard of since ^d.

^d Whether this ballad is worded with that decency that the subject of the dispute, or the very learned and eminent persons concerned in it deserve, we shall not determine. But the reception it met with, being translated into several languages, particularly Latin by a curious hand at Cambridge, and the presents sent the author by the nobility and gentry, made it evident that their sentiments were against having the mysteries of our Holy Religion discussed and canvassed after so ludicrous a manner.

A D V E R S A R I A;

O R,

Occasional REMARKS on Men and Manners^a.

THALES, being asked how a man might most easily brook misfortunes, answered, "If he saw his enemies in a worse condition^b." It is not agreed concerning the Wise Men; or whether, indeed, they were Seven.

There is a very good Letter of Pisistratus to Solon, and of the same style and character with those of Phalaris.

Solon ordained, that the guardians of orphans should not cohabit with their mothers; and that no person should be a guardian to those whose estate descended upon them at the orphan's decease: that no seal-graver should keep the seal of a ring that was sold: that, if any man put out the eye of him who had but one, he should lose both his own: that, where a man never planted, it should be death to take away: that it should be death for a magistrate to be taken in drink.

Solon's Letters, at the end of his Life in Laërtius, give us a truer idea of the man, than all he has written before; and are, indeed, very fine. Solon's to Cræsus, are very genteel; and Pittacus's, on the other side, as rude and philosophic: however, both shew Cræsus to have been a very great man. These Epistles give a further reason to believe that the others were written by Phalaris. There is a Letter from Cleobulus to Solon, to invite him to Lindus.

Bion used to say, "It was more easy to determine differences between enemies than friends; for that, of two friends, one would become an enemy; but of two enemies, one would become a friend."

Anacharsis has an Epistle to Cræsus, to thank him for his invitation; and Periander one to all the wise men, to invite them

^a Many of these Remarks were made from the perusal of original papers in the Record-offices of Ireland.

^b Diogenes Laërtius, book i.

to Corinth to him, after their return from Lydia. Epimenides has an Epistle to Solon, to invite him to Crete, under the tyranny of Pisistratus.

Epimenides often pretended that he rose from death to life.

Socrates is said to have assisted Euripides in his Tragedies. He was a great champion of Democracy; and extols Pleasure as the best thing a man could enjoy, as Xenophon witnesses in his *Symposiarchum*.

Xenophon was modest to excess, and the most lovely person living.

Aristippus was a man of a soft temper, and could comply with all persons, places, and seasons. He could enjoy pleasure, and scorn it if too expensive to his way of living. He said, "Pleasure was no crime; but it was a crime for a man to be a slave to his pleasure." We can have no true character of him from his Life in Laërtius: for it is certain, he was an exact Courtier; and the rest of the Philosophers, the Grecians, were generally averse to him, because he could endure to live in the Court of Dionysius: whereas they were all for a Democracy, and could not endure to see a Greek complaisant to a Monarch, being a thing, as they thought, below the dignity of his birth. Pleasure was the thing he sought after: and the Hegesiacks, his followers, tell us, "There was nothing either pleasant or unpleasant by nature; but that, through scarcity, novelty, and satiety, some things were delightful, others distasteful; that wealth and poverty had no relation to pleasure; for that the pleasures of the rich, and the pleasures of the poor, were still the same." They were of opinion, "That the transgressions of men were to be pardoned; for that no man committed a voluntary sin, but by the impulse of some natural passion or other; that a man ought to propose to himself, as his chiefest end, to live a life freest from trouble and pain, which happens to them who are not over-eager in the chace and pursuit of pleasure."

See, in the Life of Aristippus, the notion of the Cyreniacks about friendship, and how they shew the pleasure that is in it. Theodorus the Atheist denied friendship, as neither appearing really in Fools nor Wise Men; for, in the first, as soon as the benefit ceases, the friendship dies; and Wise Men trust so much to their own abilities, that they stand in need of none.

Laërtius has made verses on most of the Philosophers; which are very dull.

The

The Phrygians, profuse in their tempers.

Menedemus, when a stupid fellow talked impertinently to him, said, "Hast thou any lands?" The fellow answered, "Yes, several farms."—"Go then," said he, "and look after them, lest thou lose thy wealth, and come to be a *poor* fool."

Timon, an inveterate enemy to the Academic Philosophers, has written a satire upon them all. There is a very fine Ode of Aristotle's in Diogenes Laërtius, concerning Virtue and Friendship, which wants to be translated from the Greek. Laërtius is a very dull fellow.

Diogenes's sayings are most of them Puns. He said, Opposition was the study of his whole life; I wish *that* Philosophy never prevailed in Trinity College ^c.

Hypparchia, a woman of good birth and fortune, fell in love with Crates the nasty Cynick, and would needs marry him, and live after his fashion. Crates made her brother become his *auditor*, by letting a fart. These Cynicks were nasty brutes!

The Logick of the Stoicks seems to me, as far as I can make any thing of Laërtius, to be nothing but words. They held self-preservation to be the first of all desires infused into all creatures. Erillus maintained there were things indifferent between Virtue and Vice.

Dr. Heylin's ^d Life, written before his works by an anonymous Author, 1681; then by George Vernon ^e, rector of Bourton

^c Alluding to Dr. Bentley's disputes with the Fellows of that College.

^d Peter Heylin, born Nov. 29, 1600, first of Hart Hall, then of Magdalen College, Oxford, was chaplain to archbishop Laud (whose Life he published), and also to king Charles the First and Second.—His "History of St. George," published in 1631, recommended him to Charles I, who preferred him to a prebend in Westminster, and to the rectory of Houghton in Durham; from both of which he was ejected during the Civil War, and reduced to great straits. He supported himself by his pen; and the number and bulk of his writings are very great, as he even continued to publish when he could no longer see to write; and retained an amanuensis to the day of his death, May 8, 1662. The generality of his writings are in no great esteem at present: but his "Help to English History," (lately re-printed with improvements by Paul Wright, B. D.) is a work of great utility. Some of the best of his pieces are in the collection of "Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts," 1681, fol.

^e Admitted of Brazen-nose College, March 9, 1653, at the age of 16. Several of his works are enumerated by Wood, II. 1025.—The ano-

Bourton upon the Water in Gloucestershire; which, as much as I had patience to read, is very indifferent; and he is accused by Dr. Bernard, rector of Waddington near Lincoln, not to have dealt fairly with him, nor to have given a sufficient account; and therefore he has published a *third* volume in 1683 ^f. He had married Dr. Heylin's daughter, mother to Bernard of Brazen-nose College; who has turned her and his sister Papists. This Bernard was fellow of Lincoln College ^g, and tutor to Crew ^h, since bishop of Durham, to whom he dedicates the Book ⁱ. Bernard is not a violent man; seems to have little judgement, and an indifferent style. Pedantick stuff!

In the Preface to Scaliger's works, he saith, "The fragments of Aristotle are beyond any thing that Pindar or Homer ever wrote."

A Character.

"Mirth makes them not mad,

"Nor sobriety sad;

"For of that they are seldom in danger

"At Paris, at Rome,

"At The Hague, they're at home,

"The Good Fellow is no where a stranger."

ymous Life having been drawn up by Vernon, it was corrected, enlarged, and methodized, by Bernard. But those corrections being afterward mutilated either by Mr. Vernon or by Dr. Barlow bishop of Lincoln, neither of them would own it as it there stands; and therefore Vernon published a second Life, and Bernard a third.

^f Intituled, "Theologo-Historicus, or the true Life of Dr. Peter Heylin."

^g Made fellow Sept. 29, 1648. He died Aug. 17, 1683. See more of him in Wood, II. 737.

^h Dr. Nathanael Crew, dean of Chichester, was made bishop of Oxford in 1671; and translated to Durham Oct. 22, 1674. He was considerable for his birth, and more considerable for his preferments. He died Sept. 18, 1721, aged 88, having been upwards of 50 years a bishop.

ⁱ Mr. Granger tells us, Bp. Crew gave Dr. Mangey a prebend of Durham for a flattering Dedication prefixed to a Sermon, which, as Dr. R. Grey, then his domestic chaplain, assured Mr. G. Ashby, he never read. He was fully satisfied with the Dedication.

After

After David's return from the spoil of Ziglag, and other spoil of the Amalekites, "As his part is, that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarricth by the stuff: they shall part alike. And it was so from that day forward, that he made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel unto this day^k."

The Second of Esdras seems to me full of tautologies, and childish instances of God's power, and explanation of his secret designs.

Chrysofom speaks expressly of Jesus Christ.

See Bartolus Agricola de Advocato: he says, "Having taught the Advocate to be a good man, he proceeds to make him a good Christian."

I hear now, Hugenius and Eustachius, both Divines, are to be tried by their *glasses*, which is the most skilful in Opticks of the two. Hugenius acknowledges no divine right of Bishops, to govern by virtue of imposition of hands, and consecration; and immediately from Christ, and not from the king. He believes the king only, and without sharers, to be the head of all Churches within his own dominions; and that he may dispense with ceremonies, and with any thing else, that is not against the Scripture, or against natural reason. He cannot believe the safety of the state depends upon the safety of the Church, he means the clergy; for neither is the clergy essential to a commonwealth: that the king is no part of the flock of any minister or bishop, no more than the shepherd is of his sheep, but of Christ only; and all the clergy, as well as the people, the king's flock. He would have bishops hold their authority from the king's letters patent. He is against an immaterial or incorporeal substance.

Burnet, in his Life of Bishop Bedell^l, says, "That the Primate^m was not made for the *governing part* of his function." The contrary appears by his opinion of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in his Letters to Bishop Bedell, N^o 142, 143.—Dr. Bernard's ac-

^k 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25.

^l Dr. William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore, was born in 1570, and died Feb. 7, 1641. ●

^m Dr. James Usher, born in Dublin, Jan. 4, 1580, was chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, and professor of divinity in that university, in 1607; elected provost in 1610; raised to the see of Meath in 1620; advanced to the archbishoprick of Armagh in 1624; and died March 21, 1655-6.

count of Bishop Usher's detecting Richard Stanihurst^a, his Uncle by the Mother's side, a learned man of the Romish persuasion, an excellent Historian, Philosopher, and Poet, as appears by his Works; some of them written against his nephew. Letters between them in that Collection.

Ambrose Usher, nephew to the Bishop, translated a Book of the Antient State of the Christian Church from the Latin; which is still in Ms.

King James I. sent to Dublin James Fullerton and James Hamilton, after Viscount Clancabois, to keep a correspondence with the English Protestant nobility, and to secure his interest in that kingdom when queen Elizabeth should happen to die. They were there as Schoolmasters, and taught bishop Usher.

In 1593, Trinity College in Dublin was finished; Dr. Loftus, sometime fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, afterward archbishop of Dublin, being the first provost of it. Bishop Usher, at thirteen years old, the first scholar entered there.

In 1598, Earl of Essex^o lord lieutenant of Ireland. He made an exact terrier, of his own hand-writing, of all the estates and leases left him by his Father; and drew an exact state of all the suits and encumbrances that lay upon it, with directions what to do therein.

He was against a Toleration, fearing lest, a connivance being given to the Papists, a luke-warm indifference might seize the Protestants themselves.

Bishop Usher wrote a Treatise about the *Herenagh Terman*, or *Corban* lands, which anciently the *Chorepiscopi* received. Sir Henry Spelman has translated the substance of it into his Glossary. The Ms. is at Lambeth. Among his friends were Sir John Bouchier, after Bishop of Salisbury. The lady Tyrrel^r was his only child.

Archbishop Usher's answer to the Jesuit's challenge was to one Malore, an Irish Jesuit of the College of Louvain; who, after

^b See a very full account of him in Wood, I. 442; where his writings are particularly mentioned. He was chaplain to the archduke of Austria.

^c Robert Devereux, beheaded Feb. 25, 1600, in his 34th year.

^d Elizabeth, married to Sir Timothy Tyrrel, general of the ordnance to Charles I; whose eldest son James Tyrrel was Author of an History of England, and many Tracts on the Constitution of this Kingdom.

three years, published a tedious and scurrilous reply. Dr. Hoyle, Dr. King, and Mr. Puttock, took this Author to task. Usher made Archbishop of Armagh by King James. King Charles gave him a pension of four hundred pounds *per annum*. He is appointed by the Commons to preach before them at St. Margaret's, Westminster. The Prebendaries claimed the privilege of the Church, and their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, for many hundred years, and offered their own service: whereupon the House, being displeased, appointed the place to be at the Temple; but where he preached at last, does not appear. But the judgement of the archbishops and bishops at that time were against the toleration of Papists.

Archbishop Usher, in a speech of his, says, "That the earl of Desmond, in Henry the Eighth's time, made an offer of Ireland to the French king; and the instrument thereof remains still upon record in the courts of Paris." The Bishop of Rome afterwards transferred the titles of all our kingdoms to Charles the Fifth; which, by a *new grant*, were transferred to his Son Philip, in the time of queen Elizabeth, with a resolution to settle the crown upon the Spanish Infanta.—In Spain, when the treaty of the match with prince Charles and the Infanta was on foot, there was a book published by Philip O Sullivan, an Irishman; wherein the Spaniard is taught, that the ready way to establish his Monarchy is, first to set upon Ireland; which being quickly obtained, the conquest of Scotland, then of England, falls of course; and the Low Countries, it is foretold, with great facility will follow after. In the Irish war against queen Elizabeth, the Spaniards practised this; and the Pope, by his Bulls, gave them the same indulgences as were given to those who fight against the Turks.

The Archbishop says, "That, by the king's lenity in forbearing the execution of the laws, our Recufants have found such experience of favour, that they cannot expect greater *liberty* than what they now freely enjoy."

In the Rolls in the Pipe-office, you will find the names of those that contributed to Henry the Third, for the marrying of his sister to the Emperor. In the Records of the same king, kept in England, we find the Letters-patent directed into Ireland, for levying of money to help to pay this debt to Lewis the Son of the French King. In the Rolls of Gascony, we find the same

Letters for the gentlemen and merchants of Ireland, of whose names there is a list, to give him aid on his expedition into Aquitain. An Ordinance likewise in Edward the Third's time, for the personal taxing of them that lived in England, and let lands and tenements in Ireland.

In 1631, the Lord-primate Usher published the first *Latin* Book printed in Ireland, "The History of Gotteschalcus, and "the Predestinarian Doctrine stirred by him." He was a Monk of the Abbey of Orbais, in the beginning of the ninth century, whipped, imprisoned, and would not recant many things condemned by Councils against his doctrines, which he never held.

A Memorandum in Bishop Usher's hand: "The King, " [meaning Charles the First,] George duke of Buckingham being "then present, of his own accord, said to me, *That he never "loved Popery in all his life; but that he never detested it before "his going into Spain.*"

This Prelate proved the Antiquity and Primacy of his See to have preceded that of Dublin by many ages. The King gave him that precedency, without his seeking, by the lord chancellor.

In 1634, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England received by the Convocation of Ireland as theirs. The Book of English Canons not received, as though it might prejudice the liberties of the Irish Church; but there was a new Book of Canons made, as will appear to those who will compare the English and Irish Canons.

In the troubles of the Civil War, he was invited by the University of Leyden to be Honorary Professor, with a more ample stipend. Cardinal Richlieu made him an invitation to come into France, with a noble pension, and freedom of religion. The Cardinal had before sent him a Letter, and a Gold Medal with his own effigies, upon publishing his Book "De Primordiis Ecclesiæ Britannicarum." The Primate returned him a present of Irish Greyhounds. The Archbishop conjectured, that Dositheus, the false Messias, was the corrupter of the Samaritan Pentateuch, as we now have it.—Archbishop Usher with the lady Stradling at St. Donate's. Sir Edward Stradling^r, a great Antiquary, and Friend of Mr. Camden's.

Bishop

^q He went to the castle of St. Donate, in Glamorganshire, for security, when the king's affairs began to decline.

^r He was at the charge of such Herculean works for the public good, that

Bishop Usher preached * Selden's Funeral Sermon; in which, he said, "He looked upon him as so great a scholar, that himself "was not worthy to carry his books after him." Cromwell sent for Usher, and used him with great outward kindness and civility. He was, from St. Patrick, the hundredth Bishop of Armagh. Among his Manuscripts are, "Chronologia Legum Codicis Theodosiani et Justiniani collata cum Malmesburiensi Manuscripto;" with a Collection of his Letters, &c.

Petrus Bertius, the Remonstrant, turned Roman Catholic. He has written a Book called "Hymenæus Defertor," and printed an oration of the motive to his conversion; of which bishop Usher says, "He never saw a more silly and miserable "Discourse proceed from the hands of a learned man."

There was one Mr. Richard James^t, who wrote a Book, called "Becket's Decanonization;" of which his unkle Dr. Thomas James says, "It is a Book so nearly concerning kingly "dignity, and so fully opening the history of those times, that I "know not where a man shall read the like." Our Author has

that no man in his time went beyond him; but above all he is to be remembered for his singular knowledge in the British language and antiquities, for his eminent encouragement of learning and learned men, and for his great expence and indefatigable industry in collecting together several monuments and ancient manuscripts of learning and antiquity. See Wood, I. 350.

* March 20, 1655-6; the day before his own death.

^t Born at Newport in the Isle of Wight; admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Sept. 23, 1608, aged about 16. He was a great traveller, and well versed in most parts of learning; being a good Poet, Critic, Antiquary, Divine, and skilled in the Greek, Saxon, and Gothic languages. The famous Selden was much beholden to his assistance when he published the *Marmora Arundeliana*, acknowledging him in the Preface to be "vir multijugæ studii indefatigabilis." Sir Robert Cotton also, his great patron, and his son Sir Thomas, could not but acknowledge his like industry, in ordering, disposing, and settling, their incomparable Library. He died in December, 1638. Besides several works printed in his lifetime, he left behind several Mss. to the number of about 45, which were deposited in the Bodleian Library. Amongst the latter, are observations made by him in his travels through Wales, Scotland, Shetland, Greenland, &c.; and, "Observations made on the Country, with the Manners "and Customs, of Russia, or Rusland, an. 1619." See more particulars in Wood, I. 617.

given us no light into what time this Book appeared in ; but all seem probable to be in king James the First's.

There is a Book of Mr. Richard Tracey's, who flourished 1550, intituled, "A Preparation to the Cross," found in the belly of a Cod-fish, at Cambridge ^u.

Rabbi Abraham Trebanes, a Spanish Jew, in the Bundle of "Myrrh," says, "That, after five thousand six hundred years of the world are expired, and before the end of the six hundredth year, when they say the world shall end—in this interim of four hundred years, wherein we now live, shall be the fall of Rome, which they call Edom typically; and then Redemption shall come in to Israel."

Hackin tells us, in the First of Genesis, how many Alphabets there are in the Law, viz. one thousand eight hundred. Of an Edomite, Obadiah, who became a Profelyte, and then was sent to prophesy against Edom; of whom the Rabbies have this Proverb, "The Mustard-pot bites the Mustard-pot-maker." This Hundred and Second Epistle is put by Ralph Skinner before his translation of Rambanus into English, and dedicated to Bishop Usher. Letter 103, Claudius Duret's History of the Language of the Universe, fits a gentleman with discourse of every nation. Letter 104, Conradus Graferus, on the last verses of the Eleventh Chapter of Daniel, holds tenets contrary to Julius and Broughton. Letter 105, Mr. Skinner says, that Israel did not go over the Red Sea *transversim*; for he went into and out of the Sea, keeping the same side. It is Abson Ezras's opinion. "We know," says he, "that there is no Red Sea between Egypt and the Land of Israel; neither is there any need that they should go into the Red Sea; because it was not the way to Canaan; only God commanded them so to do, to the end that the Egyptians might go after them, and be drowned." Now, from the Wilderness of Etham Israel entered the Sea, and into the Wilderness of Etham they went out again.

^u Wood tells us, this book, which was printed in 8vo, 1540, and dedicated to lord Cromwell, was found, wrapped up in canvass, in the belly of a cod, and brought from Lynn to Cambridge Market, to be sold, on Midsummer eve, 1626: it was re-printed soon after, under the name of John Fryth.—See an account of Tracey and his writings, Athen. I. 102.

At the beginning of the Eighth Book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, when Minos leaves Scylla behind him; after she, for love of him, had cut off her father's purple, there is as much occasion for a good Epistle to be written from her to Minos, as any of the subjects which Ovid himself had chosen.

“ Et cum Pirithoo felix concordia Theseus w.”

They were among those who came to hunt the Boar, which Diana had sent to punish Oeneus; and, in the pursuit x, we have the care which Theseus shewed for his Friend:

“ Ibat in adversum proles Ixionis hostem

“ Pirithous, validâ quatiens venabula dextrâ;

“ Cui procul Ægides, O me mihi carior, inquit,

“ Pars animæ consiste meæ: licet eminus esse

“ Fortibus: Ancaeo nocuit temeraria virtus.

“ Dixit: et æratâ torfit grave cuspide cornum:

“ Quo bene librato votique potente futuro,

“ Obstitit esculeâ frondosus ab arbore ramus.”

“ The Blatant Beast Muzzled; or, Reflections on a late Libel, intituled, The Secret History of King Charles the First, and King James the Second.” There is nothing good in it, but a large Letter of Mr. Sergeant's; in which he discovers the roguery of Rookwood, who had formerly betrayed the King to Oliver, who would have suborned him with ten thousand pounds from my Lord Shaftesbury; and would have forced him to be a discovery of *two plots*, that he never so much as thought a syllable of.

The Ninth Book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* seems to me to be more exactly written throughout, than any of the former; and the Tenth Book is very well, especially the story of Orpheus.

Speaking of Adonis, he says,

“ Laudaret faciem Livor quoque: qualia namque

“ Corpora nudorum tabulâ pinguntur Amorum,

“ Tali erat: sed ne faciat discrimina cultus,

“ Aut huic adde leves, aut illis deme pharetras.”

“ The Dove, or Passages of Cosmography, by Richard Zouch, Civilian, of New College, Oxon, printed at Lon-

w *Metamorph. lib. viii. 303.*

x *Ver. 403—410.*

“don, 1613,” 8vo. Zouch is a very indifferent Poet, as you may judge :

“ Old Winchester, the ancient seat of kings,
 “ For virtue, and for valour, much renown’d,
 “ So subject unto change are earthly things,
 “ Instead of diadems, with bays is crown’d.
 “ Where worthy Wickham’s children now maintain
 “ The fame once known by great king Arthur’s train.”

“ The Works of Mercy, both Corporal and Spiritual, a Poem, by Richard Cranc.” Very dull.

“ Cure for the Itch; Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs, &c. by H. R.” They are all very dull.

Cartwright’s ^z Poems seem to me very indifferent. The first is a panegyrick on the famous Beauty of King Charles the First’s Court, Lucy ^a countess of Carlisle. He has a Copy of drolling Verses upon Mr. Stoker’s “ Art of Vaulting.”

To Lydia, whom men observed to make too *much* of him.

“ You say you ought howe’er to do

“ The same thing still; I say so too.

“ Let

He was, however, according to Wood, “ an exact Artist, a subtle Logician, expert Historian, and for the knowledge in, and practice of, the Civil Law, the chief person of his time.” He was born in 1590, chosen king’s professor of civil law in 1620, and was afterward lord warden of the cinque ports, and judge of the high court of admiralty. He died March 1, 1660. He wrote a great many treatises, principally relating to matters in his own profession. See a list of them, and a further account of Dr. Zouch, Athen. II. 255.

^z William Cartwright, M. A. born in Sept. 1611, had the highest reputation of any man of his time in the university of Oxford, for poetry, oratory, and philosophy. His “ Royal Slave” was acted before the king and queen by his fellow-students of Christ Church; of whom the most applauded was Mr. Busby (of whom, see vol. III, p. 291.). He was successor of Salsbury, junior proctor and metaphysical reader to the university; and died Dec. 23, 1643. There are extant four of his plays, besides other poems, which were printed together in 1657, accompanied by above 50 copies of commendatory verses by the wits of the university.

^a Daughter of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and wife of James Hay earl of Carlisle. She holds the next place to Sacharissa in the poems of Waller, and appears there to much greater advantage than she does in

the

“ Let tongues be free, say what they will
 “ Say, our love’s loud ; but let’s love still.
 “ I hate a secret stifled flame,
 “ Let yours and mine have *sound and name* ;
 “ Who censures what’s ’twixt us, I see,
 “ Condemns not you, but envies me.”

Sainza iii.

He has a copy of verses on Sir Francis Kynaston’s Translation of Troilus and Cressida ^b.

There is a Book called “ Il Putanismo di Roma ; or the Vices of Rome.” It is a very silly, filthy thing, and ill translated by J. D. Esq.

I think it very odd, in “ The Rape, or the Innocent Impostors ^c,” to see an Epistle dedicated to so great a person and excellent a judge as my lord Dorset, without a name to it.

Criticisms and Remarks in Poetry, &c. as might tend to the Honour of the British Name and Literature ^d.

To collect some of Spencer’s ; particularly an Eclogue of Colin, very well turned into Latin verse. Kynaston’s Chaucer ^e, a peculiar piece of Poetry ; Dean Aldrich ^f has taken pains to give us Notes. The first Book only published. There are English Songs turned into Latin Rhimes. See Cooper’s “ Sir Eglemore,” in Latin. “ The Macaronick,” by the Queen’s

the portraits of Van Dyck. She was the reputed mistress, first of Strafford, and then of Pym. See some curious anecdotes of her in Granger.

^b Printed at Oxford, in 4to, 1635, and ushered into the world by 15 copies of verses by the wits of Oxford. Mr. Kynaston is represented as “ more addicted to the superficial parts of Learning, Poetry, and Oratory (wherein he excelled), than Logic and Philosophy.” He was knighted in 1618, and made esquire of the body to king Charles I. He was the first regent of the college called “ The Museum Minervæ, an. 1635 ;” and was quaintly stiled, by Sir John Borough, “ Palladii Patrimæque virginis Protomythes.” He published the constitutions of this Museum in 1636, 4to ; and died in 1642. See Wood, II, 20.

^c A Tragedy acted at the Theatre Royal 1692. It was the production of Dr. Brady, and introduced to the stage by Shadwell.

^d To encourage a collection of this kind, our Author recommends such Observations on Books, Manuscripts, &c. as he had met with.

^e The abovementioned translation of Troilus and Cressida.

^f See the Observations at the end of vol. III.

Men. "Polemo-Middinia ϵ ," by Dr. Gibson, present Bishop of London; with "Christ's Kirk on the Green," by James the Fourth of Scotland. More modern Songs turned into Latin by Mr. Cotchet of Derby and Mr. Oughton of Doctors Commons, well worthy collecting. To give a specimen of those strong lines in Cleveland:

"Had Cain been Scot, God would have chang'd his doom;
"Not sent him wander, but confin'd him home."

Leland, Bale, and Wood's Antiquities, with the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, are necessary to be consulted. Farnaby^b has enriched us with the translation of several Greek Epigrams into Latin: Alsopⁱ, with the translation of Fables, from Greek, Hebrew, and Arabick. Several good copies of Verses under Pictures. If Iscanus's books can be got, see for the Remains of his Antiochus; likewise Mr. Newey, Dr. Jan, Thynne, Talbot, Stepney. There is a collection of Prophecies, I know not exactly in what times. See Eltham's Verses against Wickliffe, the Libel and Satire of those times. Sir Thomas More, a great *Epigrammatist*.

Vernon^k of Christ Church has a Journey in Latin verse. Hobbes has written a Chronology in verse, to shew the difficulty of

ϵ Published at Oxford in 4to, 1691. The title is "Polemo-Middinia, Carmen Macaronicum, Autore Gulielmo Drummundo, Scoto-Britanno. Accidet Jacobi id nominis Quinti Regis Scotorum Cantilena Rustica, vulgo inscripta *Christ's Kirk on the Green*. Recensuit, Notisque illustravit, E. G."

^b Thomas Farnaby was born about 1575, and died June 12, 1647. He was the chief Grammarian, Rhetorician, Poet, Latinist, and Grecian of his time; and his School was so much frequented, that more Churchmen and Statesmen issued thence than from any school taught by one man in England. Many writers have spoken with great approbation of his labours. Mr. Bayle, in particular, says, that "his notes upon most of the ancient Latin poets have been of very great use to young beginners, being short, learned, and designed chiefly to clear up the text." See a list of them, in Wood, II. 104.

ⁱ Very slightly mentioned by Dr. Bentley, under the name of "a late editor of the *Æsopian Fables*," Pref. to his Dissertation, p. xliii.

^k Author of "*Oxonium*, Poema, 1667," 4to. He was born about 1637; and, being possessed of an insatiable desire of travelling, visited many parts of the world. His remarks in passing through Istria, Dal-

of such writing. Our Grammar of Lily, and Robinson's "Que Genus," have a spirit of Poetry. Dr. Busby's "Sume, Puer," shews all that he has run through in verse. I had once a Book of one Willis, I think a Winchester Scholar; he has all sorts of verses; as Anagrams, &c. in Hieroglyphicks, and a Chronology of the Bishops of Winchester.

All the Oxford and Cambridge Verses upon the Deaths, Births, and Marriages, of Princes and great men: I believe there are many good ones upon Sir Philip Sidney, when they began to be in fashion. There is a book of Pictures, called "Hierologia;" and I think one Sparks made an excellent Copy of Verses about a Sparrow. I have heard of excellent Lent Verses of Throckmorton's, and several others. Mr. Whitfield of Christ Church has Verses of his own; and Mr. Atterbury did intend to publish some Poems of Corbet, Owen, and his Brother, among various others: To give an account of them, and several extempore Verses made at Westminster, Merchant Taylors, Eaton, and Winchester, when Dr. Altham, Dr. Isham, and Dr. Wall, were Censors.

Fisher¹ calls himself Piscator. He was a famous Latin Poet; and wrote Verses upon Oliver, by way of panegyrick. He seems to imitate Claudian in his style, as I remember.

It would be of great use and honour to our country, to translate some of our English Poets into Latin, to shew Foreigners, that do not understand our language, what the spirit of our Poets is. "Absalom and Achitophel" as a specimen, and Cowley's "Davidcis," besides many others; and, I think, one of Coward's^m.

matia, Greece, and the Archipelago, to Smyrna, are printed in Phil. Trans. N^o 124. He was cruelly murdered, by some Arabs, in Persia, about 1677.

¹ Payne Fisher, or Paganus Piscator as he called himself, was born in 1616, and died April 2, 1693. He wrote and published a prodigious number of books, as may be seen in Wood, II. 899; where is a very satisfactory account of him.

^m Dr. William Coward, born in 1656, after some years practice at Northampton, settled at London as a physician in 1693. He translated "Absalom and Achitophel" into Latin verse in 1682; and was *school'd* for it in his College (Hart Hall). The same poem was afterwards translated by Atterbury and Hickman with better success.

Dr. Lockey's Epitaph Inscriptions on Marble in Oxford. The two Brothers in Maudlin College. A pretty Epigram upon the two Reynolds, who converted one another. Whether there are not some Latin Poems in Hackluit? What Translations have we of *ours*, of Greek and Latin? modern Languages into Latin? and English into Latin? Whether Gower had not Latin Verses? Sure, there are very good Verses upon Trinity Sunday at Cambridge. Quære, Talbot, for some of them? They have *jocose* Verses, called Corrections. I believe Wilmot has some good ones.

Enquire for Leland's "Cygnea Cantia." Leland says, "Henr. Huntingdon Alfredum Regem à fortitudine illustri carmine collaudat." If the Poem is not lost, you will find it in the Life of Alfred, printed at Oxford. See what Poets among the Saxons?

What Epigrams of the English Vates approved of? what Poems or Epigrams in Select Collections? Vavasor says, "Plurimo tunc Autore, Poeta melior ante Ciceronem, quam Cicero ipse;" by which means, the ancient Poets of our own nation may be defended; for Cicero, though none of the best, was none of the worst. Leland's Hendecasyllables run very easy. See Plumtree's Epigrams, and the *Batrachomyomachia*, 1626. The last very pretty.

Dr. Pocke, in one of his Books of Verses, has turned his own Arabick Verses into very good Latin. See if no Latin Verses remain of Ephraim Howard. Duport's Poems in Greek excellent. See all the Greek Poets. Milton has some. Dr. Ratcliffe, the Canon of Christ Church, has a very good Copy of Verses. Duport's Latin Verses. One of Bishop Fell's^a, when he was old, have a great deal of spirit in them. Look if Verstegan does not give us an account of the Poets of Antiquity; and what there is any where said of the Druids.

Wake's "Rex Platonicus," upon King James's coming to Oxford, 1605. There is an account of all the Oxford and Cambridge Entertainments in Verse, upon the coming of great persons; which will make a pretty history. Alexander Ross's "Virgilius Evangelizans," and what other Canto's we may have

^a Dr. John Fell was born June 23, 1625; was advanced to the see of Oxford in 1665-6; and died July 10, 1686.

of that nature. Aufonius seems the parent of that sort of Poetry.

To read Voffius of Historians and Poets. The Bishop of Litchfield's Technical Verses for Chronology; a stupendous Work, comprehending that learning through many ages so short, that nothing can be a greater instance, "memoriam in artem posse redigi." In the beginning, the Britons were satisfied to be the subject of Poetry. See what the Poets from time to time have said of the Britons; Flavia, Martial, Scæva: and what Saints Lives the Monks described in Verse.

Leland has written of King Arthur. Merlin's Prophecies. Thalieffin, a Welsh Poet, of Welsh Poetry. If one Price has not written a Defence of King Arthur? Alford, in four volumes of Annals of the Church of England. Mr. Jones of Sunningwell has a great many of Bishop Fell's papers. I remember Dr. Smallridge^o had a very good copy about Regulus, whose eyelids were cut off.

Verses on King Charles's Restoration; wherein Dr. Bathurst^p seems to lead them on with the true spirit of Poetry. One Nicholas Car has an Oration on the Paucity of English Writers, spoken at Cambridge, and printed at London, 1576. It is very scarce to be met with; as is also Waræus, for Irish Poets. I do not remember to have seen ever a Latin Poem of Mr. Dryden's, Drayton, Cartwright's, Sir John Suckling, Marvel's, Otway's, or Sir Philip Sidney's. I think Oldham has none.

I have heard, that either Archbishop Laud, or Sir John Robinson, left a hundred pounds to any that would translate Laud against Fisher into Latin.

Whether there are not good Burlesque Latin Verses in some of the Terræ-filius's Speeches, and a Greek Macaronic Poem of Cobb's called Βέκκον? The Dean (Dr. Aldrich) has told me of one made upon "Meat on a Dresser," as I remember.

Whether Jonas the Prophet is not put into Greek Verse, and other Parts of the Bible, besides what is done by Duport? There

^o See vol. II. p. 217.

^p Dr. Ralph Bathurst, president of Trinity College, Oxford, and vice chancellor of that university, was born in 1620; and died June 14, 1704. In him were united the orator and the poet, the philosopher and the divine. He possessed an inexhaustible fund of wit, and was the facetious companion at 30 years of age. His Life was published by Mr. Warton, in 1761, 8vo.

is a very good Greek Anacreontick upon General Monk; but, I believe, done by a Foreigner, however not an Englishman; therefore we are the more beholden to him. Thomas Linacre⁹, an eminent English Physician, has not only taught, but written correctly in verse: for the common Latin Grammar and Verses therein are assigned to him.

The Common Law has its Poetry, as we find in the Instructions before Coke; and I believe the Memorial Verses.

We ought to make Collections of what Englishmen have been famous beyond Seas, for their Poetry, in the Colleges of the Jesuits, Benedictines, and other Seminaries abroad, that nothing may be wanting for the glory of the British Nation. To know what Poetry we have from our Colonies in the East and West Indies. See the Epitaph of the British Prince, in Herbert's Travels; Hackluit, p. 507, 508. Where are Columbus's Verses to Henry the Seventh, and the Poetry of that time? I know of no Latin Verses sent us from those parts; but we had several Gentlemen of the West Indies that have spoken in the Theatre; as I remember a Gentleman of Wadham College, Hanmer, I think, or some such name, who spoke in the Theatre about Barbadoes; but, *instar omnium*, Colonel Codrington ought to be mentioned, to his honour and that of the Plantations, as one that excelled both in Poetry and Oratory.

No doubt but there are many remains of Poetry left by our Countrymen behind them, in the Holy Land, in Cyprus, Malta, and wherever our Knights travelled; in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, Germany, &c.

Some observations of the Life of Cardinal Pole, printed 1686. See his Life written by several hands. I am mistaken if he was not a Poet, or if I have not seen several Verses upon him. Verses addressed to Englishmen: for it is equal glory to be the subject, as the Author. There is a pretty Song of the Laplanders

⁹ Born about 1460, and chosen fellow of All Souls College in 1684. He completed his education at Florence, under the patronage of Lorenzo de Medicis; and on his return was appointed preceptor to prince Arthur, son to Henry VII. He was afterward physician to that king, to Henry VIII, and to the princess Mary; was the first president of the college of physicians; and died Oct. 20, 1524. See many curious particulars of him in Dr. Freind's "History of Physic;" and in Dr. Jortin's "Life of Erasmus."

in Scheffer. Sir John Harrington has Four Books of Epigrams; but I suppose all English.

“ — Vendit Laplandia Ventos :

“ Oh ! utinam possis vendere, Roma, tuos ! ”

I think Arnold's Verses upon Otho, at a Westminster Election, to speak modestly, a sign at least that he had studied Martial and the force of Epigram to a good purpose. I think we have a good collection of such sort of Poems in Christ-Church Library. What a whimsical Book is Andreae Guarrel's "Bellum Grammaticale;" and that of Wase, "De Legibus et Licentia Veterum Poetarum," of antient Poetical Licence; and Vossius "De viribus Rythmæ," of the force of Rhyme; printed at the Theatre!

I see no reason why it is improper to mention such trifles as these to Poetry, and the true understanding of the nature and movement of it. *Momenta*, a word that Dr. Busby uses in his Logick for *Movimenta*. Whether there are no Memorial Verses in his Logick; I am sure there are several in the Dean's (Dr. Aldrich), and in Crackenthorpe. It were to be wished that the Memorial Verses, in all Sciences, were collected together, and printed: I am sure it would be of more use than a large Folio composed of such Authors as have written upon Paradoxes or ridiculous subjects; such are silly; as one that I have seen in Lord Clarendon's Library, but have forgot the name, and whether there were any Englishmen among them. Mr. Wells, if I mistake not, was about putting forth Leland and Mr. Harrington; it would be a prodigious help, and indeed, in a manner, the perfection of the Work to that time.

If the Author of Hudibras has left any Latin behind him, it would be the best in that kind: his thoughts are so just, his images so lively, such a deep insight into the nature of mankind and the humour of those times, that no true history could be written without studying that Author.

It is pity that the finest of our English Poets, especially the divine Shakespeare, had not communicated their beauties to the world so as to be understood in Latin, whereby Foreigners have sustained so great a loss to this day; when all of them were inexcusable, but the most inimitable Shakespeare. I am so far from being envious, and desirous to keep those treasures to ourselves, that I could wish all our most excellent Poets translated into Latin, that are not so already. We owe much to Leland's

search for England's antiquities : he stood in the midst of learning and destruction.

There are Panegyric Verses upon Tom Coryat's Crudities. All the Wits of the time wrote upon it; so notice must be taken. There is a Poem in the Dean's study, with Verses before it of the like nature, called Joannides, or such name, by a Batchelor of Arts of New Inn Hall, Oxon. To shew that there is scarce any thing that the English genius has left unattempted, Sir Philip Sidney did endeavour to bring English words under most part of the ancient measures of the Latin; as Hexameters, Pentameters, &c. It is a long time since I saw them. To pick out the best.

I remember there is a Book of English Epithets, printed by Browne, where there is Addison's Preface before it; in which he speaks of a copy of Verses made to Ben Jonson,

" Benjamin, immortal Jonson ! most highly renowned."

Where are these two lines, or did I make them ?

" Credula res amor est, causas sibi fingit inertes,

" Quas credit fallaxque sua bene fallitur arte."

I think there is a Latin Epitaph upon the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, that was murdered. Sir Henry Savile, in his Edition of the English Historians, commends William of Malmesbury extremely. Carcass, as well as Nat Lee, though mad, and in Bedlam, has written some good Latin Verses. Phil. Dwight told me of a Book of Love Verses that George Pope admires. Dwight has written Verses upon Mrs. Killigrew.

Doctor Plot tells us of one Dudley^r, that went to Florence, and was there made Duke of Northumberland, Earl of Warwick and Leicester, by the Pope, or somebody else. He was a great Engineer; and his family remain there in wealth and honour. See if his Book is not in the Public Library, and if any verses before it. Florio has written concerning Jane Grey. Lapinius, " Institutiones Linguæ Florentinæ," says, Paulus Roscius, Eques Hierosolymitanus, has made Italian Heroic Verses; which must be much easier, and run in better numbers, than English.

Sta, pes; sta peto, pes; peto, pes, sta; sta, peto, mi pes:

" Stand, foot; stand, prythee, foot; prythee, foot, stand;

" stand, prythee, my foot:"

said to be made by Wase. His Senarius is of great use to Latin Verse; I wish more of it were printed, as he promised.

^r See Mr. Walpole's Catalogue of Noble Authors, vol. II.

Elizabetha-Joanna Westwood, an Englishwoman, printed Poems at Prague, in King James the First's time: she complains of misfortunes. Scaliger writes to her. She has a great love for her native country.

Camden's Britannia. A Marriage of Thame and Isis, The Preface supposes it written by him, as I do; the Translation by Mr. Kennet; very well. Henry Huntingdon has good Verses about the Thames, or London, I cannot tell which. I find that Camden does not approve of Alexander Newchamp. Round Great Tom of Westminster were these Verses:

“Tertius aptavit me Rex Edvardusque vocavit,

“Edvardi decor est Sancti signentur ut hora.”

How Sir Philip Sidney and others have imitated numbers of the Latin and Greek Verses in the English tongue. Before Barton's Psalms are a dull copy of Verses, in Latin, with forty Presbyterian Parsons names to it.

Mr. Ashmole's Prolegomena to his “Theatrum Chemicum,” now extant in Latin Verse; published by Hermannus, but very imperfectly. The second of the first Christian Philosopher, who, travelling abroad, and returning hither in the reign of William the Conqueror, transplanted the Chemical Muse. It is called “The Garland; ob Coronam Hermeticam et Poeticam.”

Anno 735, Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborn, taken out of Winchester, the first Englishman who made Latin Verses:

“Primus ego in Patriam mecum modo vita superstit,

“Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.”

I have found it somewhere among my Books, that Sir Thomas More had three daughters †, all scholars; I think I have seen some of their Poetry: one of them has drawn his Picture, which is in the Public Library.

Hackluyt, in his pieces, speaks greatly of Sir John Mandevil ‡, for a traveller; and places him in the East: we had then little intercourse with Africa, or the Abyssines. Queen Elizabeth, in her embassy to Morocco, speaking to the emperor of the king of Spain, says, “I neither like of him nor his Religion; for he “is so governed by the Inquisition, that he can do no nothing “of himself.”

‡ See London Magazine, 1745, pag. 30.

† Of whom, see vol. II. p. 62.

Heretofore Gentlemen applied to the War, leaving Learning and Trade to the meaner sort; and now they leave Trade, to turn Gentlemen. Where shall we find rich Citizens daughters for our decayed young Noblemen to match with? Sir Thomas Gresham, in his Memoirs, mentions Letters written by him to the emperor of Morocco. Says Hackluyt, "Was not the Founder of the Charter-house a merchant?" What Lives of Merchants and Citizens of eminence have been written? It is a pity if none or few are found. Whether there is not a Life written of my great grandfather La Motte? He was a Merchant of note,

There is such an air of piety runs throughout all Hackluyt's Discoveries, that makes it seem as if that alone made them successful. What signified all the Buccaneers *prosperity* without *virtue*? to what authority did all their wars and conquests bring them, but to make one another *rich* and *vicious*?

Records concerning our English Trade and Privileges in Portugal, highly necessary to be known to our Merchants. Mr. Altham tells us, from Stow's Survey of London, that Gresham College was designed for an universal correspondence of trade and Commerce; undoubtedly not of *cockle-shells* and *butterflies*; for we are absolute strangers at this time to the Portugal Trade in Brasil, on the Coast of Africa, and elsewhere; where they have vast dominions and powerful princes, either tributary to them, or absolutely under their subjection.

Men may differ in constructions; but to do it in Grammar, by resisting of rules and signification of words, is intolerable. I could not maintain such things, whatever others may do.

We learn more from Solon's Letters than from his Life: Quære, whether in Plutarch or Laërtius? Pisistratus's Letters, and the Cabala, very useful pieces of History. These Letters agreeable to wise Commonwealths. A Letter of Cæsar Borgia. Quære, whether forged? But supposing such a Manuscript found; I should look for the *spirit* of the Author, and a proper description of the state of Italy at that time; with the several intrigues of those courts; and not be concerned, if some words were not to be found in the Dictionary set forth by the Academy of Florence: for, as we see the abuse, so we see the admirable use of Criticism when in the hands of a Gentleman: there, Grammar shews itself in *decency*, without *affectation*. Grammar is not to be neglected;

for,

for, as it is a folly for a man who knows good language to be proud of formal set expressions; so it is no commendation for a man of quality, though the sense should be good, not to be able to spell or write *good* English.

Dr. Bentley's Sancho. He says, That somebody had been a little upon ἀπόρομ with somebody, who had interspersed nipping *sarcastms*, and by *mendicaments* had cured his pen of a *diarrhæa*. Bless me! thought I, when the Grand Jury were presenting of Books, how came this to escape a presentation; for confounding, as far as this person can, the *mother tongue* of his country, and using the *black art*, by way of physick, to apply the ἀπόρομ and nipping *sarcastms* to cure his pen of a *diarrhæa*; meaning and intending thereby to mend *pens*, by such diabolical ways, instead of *penknives*, to the ruin of the ancient corporation of Cutlers?

How is it possible for any Juryman to know that this is not conjuring? Perhaps the Author, in his defence, would say, it is Greek; but what Foreman of the Jury would not instantly reply, "That then it is Heathen Greek; and, if he would make use of Greek in England, he should use such as is *authentick*;" to wit,

"Shouldra Mutton, a Capon, Half a Goose, and Pasty
"Venison;

"and then there might have been some sense in his Greek." I could sooner have thought them forged in the latter times, when the Guelphs and Gibbelines, and the little commonwealths up and down Italy, bore sway in the world.

In Procopius's History of the Wars of Justinian, Agathias and Epiphanensis, two learned Writers about the same time with Procopius. Procopius was made a Senator; and about the 25th of Justinian, he arrived at the highest Dignity that can befall a Senator, to be made Præfect of the City, an Office like Lord Mayor of London; about the same time he finished his Anecdotes. The Emperor enjoined him to write a Book Περὶ τῶν κατισμάτων, of the Buildings erected by the Emperor Justinian.

In Procopius's History, Rome is several times lost and recovered. Arcadius, about to die, and leave his son Theodosius an infant, leaves by his testament Isdegardes king of Persia his protector; who, renowned for his nobleness of soul, shewed it more than ever, by keeping peace with the Romans, and pre-

erving the empire to Theodosius, A. D. 398. Among the Ephraimites, the rich men have each twenty or more companions, to be their perpetual comrades, and to partake in a community of their good. When any principals die, the retainers use to be put into the same grave with them. The Persians used not to follow the chase upon full speed, though their enemy ran away. Their king Cabades commanded that one of their women should be common. They had a place, called "the Tower of Oblivion;" where if a man were imprisoned, it was not lawful to mention him, and once to name him was death; so great a punishment they thought it was to be eternally forgotten. *Let our Dotards on Annihilation reflect on this!*

A pretty story, somewhere, about a Dog-fish in love with a Pearl. Of the story of Arfaces; who, being in the Tower of Oblivion, and having spent the merriest day that he ever had with the person he loved most, would return no more to the miseries of this life, but stabbed himself with a knife, taken up no doubt for that very purpose at the Feast.

In 527, Justinian was declared Emperor on Good-Friday. In the second year, he made Bellisarius his general in the East.

Procopius's secret History of the Court of the emperor Justinian. He therein makes Bellisarius a stupid cuckold, and his wife Antonina the most profligate woman in the world; to lie with her adopted son Theodosius; to continue her intrigues by murders, supported by her interest in the empress Theodora.

In the reign of Leo, Justin and two other brothers came from Illyrium, were made of the emperor's guards, being proper personable men. The emperor Anastasius preferred him to be captain of the guards, who after chose him to be emperor. He was old, could neither write nor read; was not capable of doing his subjects either good or harm; was sottish, stupid, and very brutish. Justinian was his sister's son, whose stature was neither too great nor too little: well-proportioned, rather inclining to be fat; his face round and comely, his complexion fresh, very like Domitian: he was crafty, yet easy to be deceived; so that he might be said to be cunning and weak both together; inconstant to his friends, and inexorable to his enemies; easily persuaded when any *evil* was to be advised, but unmovable to any action that was *good*.

Theodora was bred up on the Stage, a Courtezan, notorious before the emperor, he having first taken her for a mistress. He describes her to be very handsome. Both their characters are to consist of *love, looseness, and cruelty*; which he repeats with tautology. I do not believe it to be Procopius's, but rather some Arian's; however, it is no such extraordinary *libel* as to be twice read over; for it is written with no art, but plain matter of fact; which, if true, is downright railing. Procopius was an Heathen, or at least it is dubious what he was.

Proclus, famous in the reign of Anastasius, when Vitafian came with his fleet against Constantinople. He hung up brazen plates against the sun, and so burnt them that they could not approach the place.

Rivius says, that it is his opinion, from his serious consideration of Authors, that Bellisarius never fell into disgrace; that, by his rival's means, he might not have the favour of being mentioned as he deserved, but never went further. The Anecdotes were written in the thirty-second year of Justinian. Some say, Justinian lived to be above ninety years of age.

Narces had the greatest character of any man of his age. Procopius makes Pope Vigilius to have been a horrid fellow. He makes Bartholus, Faber, and Gennadius, say, that Justinian was held for a Saint among the Greeks.

Chosroes was of an unruly spirit, a great undertaker, troublesome, full of tumult himself, and a great troubler of others. John the Cappadocian, præfect of the city, a wicked fellow; for his conspiracy against the emperor, deprived of all, and reduced to that want which is commonly, though falsely, reported of Bellisarius. In Book II, he commends Sittas for a godly man, valiant, an excellent commander, inferior to none of his time. Chosroes takes Antioch.

The Persians, of all men, have least of variety in their humours: their manner of life extremely strict, their laws hard of digestion, and their commands intolerable.

In reading this History of Procopius, by some hints given me, I begin to suspect the Secret History to be his; but perhaps it might be raised by some other person upon his hints.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

The Christians persecuted the Jews upon their going to the Crusade of the Holy Land. It is the observation of a *modern* Jew, that the Promise of *worldly blessings* is still performed to them; that no place which persecutes them but decays in trade, as Spain is an eminent example; and that receives them is blessed for doing so, as Holland.

Matthew Paris, p. 29. When Robert duke of Normandy, 1097, went to the Holy War, he had many followers, English, Normans, Britons, &c. When they came to Constantinople, “*Holosericum inauditæ æsimationis, cum plurimis aliis donis, susceperant, qualia prius non viderant, et quæ ipsis etiam receptoribus stuporem inferrent, siquidem eorum antea vilium excederent dignitatem.*” So that here we began to see the luxury of the Eastern countries, and consequently to desire things of so great novelty, value, and beauty. See what may be found in Knolles’s excellent History of the Turks.

Ludolfus †, who wrote the Abyssinian History, or his son, was in England with Dr. Pocock.

M. Paris, p. 53. “*Rex Willielmus è Normanniâ in Angliam tenuit primò curiam suam apud Westmonasterium in Novâ Aulâ; quam cum inspecturus cum multâ militiâ introisset, cum alii eam dixissent magnam nimis esse et æquo majorem; dixit Rex, eam debitæ magnitudinis dimidiâ parte carere, nec eum esse nisi thalamum ad palatium quod erat facturus.*”

The Monks look upon it as a judgement that king William died in the New Forest; see M. Paris, p. 53, 54. After him, Henry, being crowned, confirms by charters the laws of Edward the Confessor; and, by confirming the subjects property, and easing them in several things whereby they were aggrieved in the former reigns, both clergy and barons agree to his coronation, and promise themselves much happiness in his government. “*Dedit Deus Regi Henrico tria munera, Sapientiam scilicet, Victoriâ, et Divitiâs, quibus ad omnia prosperant omnes suos prædecessores præcessit; sed in his omnibus factus est Deo ingratiſſimus.*” P. 63.

M. Paris gives us many instances of the Church of Rome’s pillaging us of monies. Anselm, in a council, though opposed by

† See vol. II, p. 91.

his king, Henry I, yet deposed many abbots who had obtained their abbies from lay-hands; nor would he consecrate the bishop of Winchester elect: but the Pope, upon Anselm's request, very mercifully restores them: "Sedes Clementissima, quæ nulli deesse consuevit (dummodo albi aliquid vel rubei intercedat) præscripto pontifices et abbates ad pristinas dignitates misericorditer revocavit."

In 1124, "Justitia de Monetariis fit Wintonii;" and in 1125, "Rex omnes Angliæ Monetarios, eo quod monetam furtivè corruperunt, fecit turpiter ementulari, et manus dexterâs præcidi." *Coiners*, says the Glossary. See *Gemiticensis*, lib. vii. cap. 23.

The erecting more towns into cities and bishops sees must have certainly an influence of trade upon those places, by the accession of a palace, and the confluence of people. Henry VIII's division. See before the See removed from Dorchester to Lincoln; though now the Bishops live most at Bugden. *Quære*, When Ely was made a bishoprick? when it became not to be a shire?

M. Paris, p. 5. The state of learning, when the Normans conquered England. "Optimates gulæ et veneri fervientes, etc. Clerici quoque et Ordinati adeo literaturâ carebant, ut cæteris esset stupori qui Grammaticam didicisset. Potabatur ab omnibus in commune, et tam dies quam noctes in hoc studio productæ sunt." There should go all along a general history of the state of learning.

P. 62, he says of Henry II, "Erat quippe eleganter literatus, utpote à primævâ ætate præcepto patris addictus literis, et jam in jure quod audierat secreto expeditus."

In 1186, "Obiit maxima mulierum, venerabilis Domina Matildis, filia regis Anglorum Henrici primi, imperatrix et uxor Henrici Romanorum imperatoris, et mater Henrici secundi Anglorum regis maximi, unde ejusdem Matildis Epitaphium:

"Ortu magna, viro major, sed maxima partu,

"Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens."

Nothing can be cleaner or more expressive than this Epigram, whoever was the Author of it. The sense is so close, that the English language cannot express it in two Verses. That of her son, king Henry II, though very easy for those times, does not come up to it. We find it in M. Paris, p. 151, anno 1188.

“Rex Henricus eram; mihi plurima regna subegi,

“Multiplicique modo duxque comesque fui.

“Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terræ

“Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum,

“Qui legis hæc, pensa discrimina mortis, et in me

“Humanæ speculum conditionis habe.

“Sufficit hic tumultus, cui non sustulerat orbis.”

This last verse is wanting in some Mss. and very probably should not be added.

He applies that verse upon the succession of king Richard;

“Mira canam; sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.”

This was in every body's mouth upon the succession of king James to queen Elizabeth.

The fixing of the Courts to Westminster a great ease to trading people. And so the Circuits, for the dispatch of business in the country; justice being brought, in a manner, to their own doors. See Dugdale's Book concerning the Law, &c.

Whether luxury and profuseness of some persons ill for trade. The vast magnificence of some of our feasts; though certainly a prudent, modest, sparing temper, is best for a trading nation; as we have an undoubted instance in Holland.

Anno 1135, “Combusta est ecclesia Sancti Pauli ab igne, qui accensus est ad pontem qui perrexit usque ad ecclesiam Danorum.”

P. 86. Duke Henry comes against king Stephen, “cum navibus triginta duabus et militiâ magnâ nimis, &c.” Next year king Stephen owns Henry for his heir.

P. 92. King Henry II, upon his coming to the crown, “Alienigenas et maximè Flandrienses de regno expellendo, et quosdam pseudo-comites quibus rex Stephanus pene omnia ad filium pertinentia minus cautè contulerat, deponendo.” See the Index of Walsingham, for Flanders, of their going into Wales.

I remember, my lady Inchiquin spoke of mighty heaps of cinders at her estate in Montgomeryshire, where there had been iron-works. Quære, The story of the Fingallians?

Anno 1155, Henry II received the Pope's letters about subduing of Ireland. M. Paris, p. 95. That Writer must be nicely considered by the best of the Irish Historians. In 1157, his expedition into Wales.

* “Origines Juridicales,” Folio; first printed in 1666.

Interviews between kings very chargeable. Henry at Paris, 1158. King Henry III very vain that way.

In 1161, in the time of king Henry, "Cantuaria fere omnis comburitur."

Anno 1166. "Quidam pravi Dogmatis disseminatores apud Oxoniam tracti sunt in iudicium, præfente rege et episcopis regni, quos à Fide Catholicâ devios, et in examine superatos, facies cauteriata notabiles cunctis expolivit, qui expulsi sunt à regno." See Fox's Book of Martyrs. Prynne's History of King John.

Anno 1172. King Henry in Ireland. Of this, see Giraldus Cambrensis.

King Henry the Second's reign might seem to have been wholly taken up with the vexations and trouble which he met with from that perverse traitor Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, who was afterwards sainted for his villainies, and whose tomb was more applied to, in case of necessity, than our Saviour. The story of demolishing his shrine; the legends of his life; book of his letters; and the Monkish Historians. Several papers concerning this, in Matthew Paris, give many particulars of his life. And the Protestants, on the other side, do justice to so great a prince (as Prynne, Master Fox, &c.) But that which must be most grievous to him, and hindered him in the progress of those great things he might otherwise have done for this nation, was the disobedience of his son Henry, whom he had placed with himself on the throne, and whom he loved entirely: but the young king, impatient in having any partner of his power, by the advice of ill counsellors, and not without the connivance and secret assistance of his mother, the haughty queen Eleanor, made several grievous wars against his father, both in England and Normandy; and, which must needs be still more afflicting to the king, drew his brothers Richard and Godfrey likewise into his party; which increased so much (all adoring the rising sun, and believing that his Monarchy would commence speedily), that the old king was deserted even by those persons who had owed their education to him from their childhood. And yet, after all this, the fame and reputation of king Henry the father was so great, that, in the year 1176, Adolfus king of Castile (who was his son-in-law, by marrying his daughter Eleanor) and Sancho king of Navarre, having mutual complaints about countries taken in

war from each other, made king Henry their umpire; who, in a great assembly of his prelates and barons at Westminster, made an accord, to the satisfaction of both parties, and to the establishment of a firm peace and friendship between them. At the same time, as if it were to render this assembly and court more august and magnificent, there arrived, upon different affairs, the ambassadors of Manuel emperor of Constantinople; of Frederick, the Roman emperor; of William, archbishop of Triers; of the duke of Saxony, and Philip earl of Flanders. Matthew Paris, who relates this, p. 133, says, he does it to shew the esteem which the world had of king Henry, for his wisdom and magnificence; from whom so many ambassadors came to demand audiences, and to whose judgement even kings were ready to submit.

Anno 1178. "Henricus, cum omnes provincias suæ potestatis, quæ vel Francorum liminibus, vel montibus Pyreneis, vel Britannico usuantur Oceano, munitiones obtinisset, et omnia pro velle disposuisset, &c." See this country in the map. The additions king Henry made by birth, Aquitain and Anjou: by conquest, Wales, Ireland, and the subjection of William king of Scotland.

1179. "Ludovicus rex Francorum, B. Thomam Martyrem, orationis gratiâ, visitare decernens, Angliam, quam nec ipse nec suorum aliquis antecessorum aliquo tempore visitaverat, devotus intravit." The king met him at Dover; "cui quidquid honoris, &c. quantum auri vel argenti, quantum in vasis pretiosis, et lapidibus, &c. gazas totius regni sui, et quicquid ipse et antecessores sui in divitiis congesserant, regi Francorum et suis exposuit." King of France stayed but three days at Canterbury.

1180. "Nova moneta in Anglia facta."

See p. 141, agreement between Henry and king Philip. Quære, if king Philip's father were then alive? P. 140. "Anno 1181, cum rex Francorum Philippus, cum quibusdam de suis, sibi ad memoriam reducentibus, cognovisset qualiter rex Anglorum regnum suum tam tutè diffusum, à tam barbaris nationibus, Scotis scilicet et Wallensibus, tam pacificè protegeret, de communi consilio domesticorum suorum, prædicti regis dispositioni omne regnum suum et seipsum commisit." I do not well understand this: however, it shews a great deference and respect that Philip had for king Henry and

his counfels; fo that he and his minifters thought his moft prudent way was to be guided by them. See the French Hiftories for king Philip's age. See if Roger ^w archbifhop of York died anno 1181. It feems, this archbifhop had got a privilege from pope Alexander, "That, if any clerk, fubject to his jurifdiction, being on his death-bed, fhould make his will, and not diftribute his goods with his own hands, the archbifhop fhould have power of feizing upon what he left." Now it being but juft that a man fhould find the effects of that law which he would impofe upon another, it fo happened, that, upon the death of the archbifhop, his goods were confiscated; "quorum fumma undecim millia librarum argenti, et aurei trecenti, cappa aurea, argentea feptem, cypti argentei novem, tria falſaria argentea, tres cuppæ murrinæ, cochlearia quadraginta, octo fantellæ argenteæ, pelvis argenteus, et difcus argenteus." This was a great fum in thoſe times, to be hoarded up ufeleſſy in the fingle treasury of one Clergyman!

Ibid. "Eodem anno, moneta veteri in Anglia reprobata, nova ſuceſſit in Feſto ſancti Martini."

Anno 1182. "Rex Henricus apud Waltham in præſentiâ provinciæ regni ad ſubventionem terræ Sanctæ quadraginta duo millia marcarum argenti et quingentas marcas auri liberaliter aſſignavit." And fo our treasure went out of the Land. See Giraldus Cambrenſis, what fort of people they gathered in Wales, rogues, &c. children from their parents, huſbands from their wives, &c.

Anno 1184, 1185. See at large Giraldus Cambrenſis, Hib. Expugnata, p. 800. King Henry's prudent refusal of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, &c. "convocato clero regni et populato;" which could not but be for the good of this kingdom. Neither did they fend any of the king's ſons; prince John's (to whom he had given the dominion of that country) being knighted at Windſor, and then ſent into Ireland; being much more for the preſent honour, as well as future advantage of England. M. Paris, p. 144, 145.

Anno 1186. "Reges Angliæ et Franciæ ſuſceperunt crucem." And the next year, 1187, "Ricardus Comes Piſtavienſis cum

^w He had been archdeacon of Canterbury; was raiſed to the ſee of York in 1154, and died in 1181. After his death, the archbifhoprick was vacant ten years.

“audisset calamitatem Terræ Sanctæ et de captâ cruce non ex-
 “pectatâ, alicujus prædicatore vel patris sui consilio, aut vo-
 “luntate, primus inter proceres transmarinos signaculum crucis
 “suscepit de manu Archiepiscopi Turonensis.” See the good
 which king Henry did us by his laws, and the establishing our
 parliaments. See the Book of the Writs for calling parliaments.

Anno 1188. Frederick emperor, king of England, king of
 France, Philip king of Flanders, and an innumerable number of
 all sorts, from archbishops and dukes, down to the meanest peo-
 ple, took the cross, and were eager to run in shoals to the Holy
 Land. Incredible what an infinite number of the people of
 Europe, and consequently of English, who gloried in being more
 devoted to the Holy See than other nations, must have perished
 in those expeditions!

Quære, How Whitehaven has flourished of late times? how
 Liverpool? See the fates of Carteol, of Newcastle; the destruc-
 tion made of those parts by the Scotch wars.

M. Paris, p. 144. “Anno 1186, Mater ecclesia Cicestrensis
 “et tota civitas comburuntur.” Earthquakes, prodigies, inun-
 dations, strike terror into the spirits of common people, especially
 when all such things, though natural, are improved by the cun-
 ning of the priests, to turn them into miracles, as occasions served.
 So scarce a voyage at sea, but the least storm occasioned a mira-
 cle of some Saint, and the expence of a wax-candle, which in-
 creased in bigness according to the apprehension of the danger.
 (See Erasmus’s Dialogue.) And this must needs dishearten our
 traffick and seamen, when under the apprehension of all such
 dangers: for all first discoverers magnify things; “et omne ig-
 “notum pro magnifico.” We have now no Scylla and Charybdis
 on the coasts of Sicily; and our ships pass even through the
 tumultuous waves of the Bay of Biscay. M. Paris, p. 146—151.

King Henry had even his latter-days made uneasy, by wars
 between him and the king of France, who supported his son
 Richard, that had gained all Britany and many of the nobility to
 his party. The Pope, by his Legates, endeavoured a reconcilia-
 tion, but in vain; and the proposals made, in 1188, by the
 king of France to king Henry, do not seem unreasonable;
 “Postulavit utique rex Francorum Aleſiam forem suam, quam
 “rex Angliæ habuit sub custodiâ suâ, donari Ricardo in uxorem,
 “et aliquam securitatem sibi fieri de Regno Angliæ post de-
 “cessum

“cessum suum. Petiit insuper ut Johannes filius ejus crucem
 “susciperet, Hierosolymam profecturus, nam Ricardus iter illud
 “nullatenus sine ipso arriperet.” So that the younger brother
 seems to have given the elder some umbrage; and the king’s
 council and friends were of opinion, that his son’s requests were
 reasonable: “Ut filio suo et hæredi legitimo militique tam
 “strenuo aliquam securitatem faceret gaudenter de hæreditate suâ
 “habendâ, si ipsi, Deo ordinante, supervixisset.” But the king
 absolutely refused any such agreement, lest he might seem to have
 been forced to it. Whereupon the prince and king Philip took
 several places; and, coming before Caen, and firing the suburbs,
 got into the city, and put the king in so much danger, that he
 was forced to fly thence, and was pursued for three miles, nar-
 rowly escaping through a deep ford, with very great difficulty, to
 Tours, whilst the king and prince ravaged the country, and took
 many castles. After this, the earl of Flanders, the archbishop of
 Rheims, and Hugh duke of Burgundy, came to king Henry at
 Saumur, to endeavour a reconciliation. In the mean time, the
 city of Tours was taken by storm; and the king of England,
 being driven to these straits, was forced to come to such condi-
 tions as were not so honourable as those he had formerly refused.
 He was without contradiction to do what the king of France
 should adjudge. He was to do homage to the king of France,
 because in the beginning of this war he had renounced it. The
 lady Alesia was to be put into the custody of Richard; who
 might likewise receive homage from all his father’s liege men.
 And the king of France was to have twenty thousand marks of
 silver for the expences he had been at, in the assistance given to
 that prince. These things affected king Henry so deeply, that
 he died three days after the concluding this agreement, having
 reigned 34 years, 7 months, and 5 days.

The king, by the length of his reign, the extent of his here-
 ditary countries, the enlarging his dominions by conquest, his
 great reputation abroad amongst all nations; the goodness of his
 laws, and his care of his people, has laid the solid foundations of
 the English grandeur.

“Ricardus Wintoniam veniens fecit ponderare et in scriptum
 “redigere omnes thesauros patris sui, et inventa sunt plura quam
 “nongenta millia librarum in auro et argento, præter utensilia
 “et jocalia et lapides pretiosos.” Q. How long Winchester

flourished in the favour of our kings? Make a Book of English Historical Questions.

King Richard, the same year, 1188, had another accession of wealth and treasure: for, Geoffry ^w bishop of Ely dying intestate, there came to the king three thousand marks of silver, two thousand of gold, with all his plate and jewels. But the king was very liberal, not to say profuse, in his disposal of lands and money to his friends and attendants; which afterwards, when he wanted it to equip him for the Holy War, made him use several unusual means for raising it.

Our Pilgrims, &c. with 37 ships, going to the Holy Land, take Sylvia for the king of Portugal, p. 150.

King John is reputed to have had more houses in our kingdom than any of our kings.

King Henry I. a great builder. "Coenobia fecit de Radingis, de Cirencestre, de Prælo ante Rothomagnon, et de Mortuo Mari. Municipia verò præter turres et castella viginti quinque opere sumptuoso construxit," p. 73. Mighty additions to our wealth and strength!

Anno 1153, "Castra adulterina, quo tempore Regis à quocunque exstructa sunt diruentur, quorum numerus ad 1115 excrevit," p. 86. Walsingham has the same number, Ypod. Neustriæ, p. 446. This must make great alterations throughout the whole country.

See in Dr. Watts's Glossary, what it is to excommunicate the Jews.

See Camden, how long Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland, under the Scots? Whether Dr. Nicolson ^x

^w Geoffry Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury, who had been raised to the see of Ely in 1184. He was also a baron of the exchequer.

^x Dr. William Nicolson, born about 1655, was a native of Orton in Cumberland. He was entered of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1670; made prebendary of Carlisle in 1681, archdeacon in 1682, and bishop in 1702. He was deeply engaged in the Bangorian controversy in 1717; and was translated to the see of Derry in Ireland the next year. He was raised to the archbishoprick of Cashel, Jan. 28, 1726-7; but died (16 days only after his promotion) Feb. 13. His principal works, the English, Scotch, and Irish Historical Libraries, were re-printed in 1775, in one volume, 4to.

bishop of Carlisle has published any thing of those countries ?
Whether a Parson has not written a Book about Westmoreland ?

The frequent incursions on both sides must render that country on the Marches very ruinous, being so often laid waste by numerous armies ; and so as to the Marches of Wales. Quære, concerning Berwick, how it stands as for our trade-between both nations ? how the Laws of Scotland ; what prohibited from England and other countries ? Quære, how long Huntington in the possession of the Scots ? A. It continued no longer than John Baliol. See Camden's Britannia.

When king Stephen came to the crown, 1135, (the bishops of Canterbury and Winchester present) he seized upon all his unkle's treasure ; " scilicet, centum libras, exceptis vasis aureis " et argenteis et gemmis."

See Molloy, " De Jure Maritimo, &c." of the Jews. Whether any Jews in Scotland ? How long in Ireland ? What of them have we in the West Indian plantations ? They are great spies, and betray us in time of war. See Walsingham's Ypodigma Neuftriæ, p. 474. Jews hanged for clipping. Expelled the kingdom in Edward the First's time, p. 176. Vide Walsingham's History of Edw. I, p. 53, a story of a Jew. " Anno 1289, " Rex crucis suscepit characterem, moxque Judæos omnes tanquam crucis hostes expulit de Wasconen et aliis terris suis " omnibus quam in Franciâ possedebat," p. 54. In 1290, expelled England. See how the Jews were admitted in Oliver's time. See an act of Parliament to provide for Protestant children^b.

M. Paris, p. 887. The Jews complain, and that justly, of the king. " Habet Papales immo suos Mercatores, &c." See how our prelates were forced to take up money at the court of Rome, to bribe them ; particularly how the Popes did it at the breaking up of Councils. How men were ready planted, to lend it at excessive usury.

^y The judicious Antiquary will find his researches in this species of learning amply gratified in Mr. Gough's curious " Anecdotes of British " Topography."

^z " An Essay towards a Natural History of Westmoreland and Cumberland, &c. By Thomas Robinson, Rector of Ousby in Cumberland," was published in 1709, 8vo.

^a There are great numbers of them established in Jamaica.

^b Stat. 1 Anne, c. 30.

Seals not much in use amongst our ancestors the Saxons; but they signed with the Cross. There was a Seal of king Edward's at Westminster. See p. 79, 80, of M. Paris's Lives. I remember, in these Lives, mention made of one Aaron, a Jew, who had lent money to St. Alban's, p. 93, circ. ann. 1188.

In 1209, in king John's time, "Ad festum Sancti Michaelis amotum est scaccarium à Westmonasterio usque Northampton, per regem, in odium Londinensium." M. Paris tells us, upon the same year, that it continued there "usque ad Natale Domini." Read Milton's History of our Kings before the Conquest. See the character of King Henry II, and his offspring, in the Topographia Cambrensis, p. 751. Cambrensis Hib. Expugnata, p. 776. Anno 1172, "Primo annoque, Rex Henricus Hiberniæ Triumphator ipsam insulam acquisivit."

Sir Thomas More^c was a great wit, had abundance of life and smartness. Nothing can give a better sense of the consideration man ought to have of his latter-end, than these two verses :

"Fleres si scires unum tua tempora mensem;
"Rides quum non sit forsitan una dies^d."

His Utopia may come in as a piece of Poetry. So the History of the Sevarites, or Sevarambi, &c.

Christian, bishop of Lismore, Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus, Donat. of Cassels, Laurence of Dublin, and Catholicus of Tuam (the archbishop of Tuam not there, by reason of his great

^c Born in 1480; appointed treasurer of the exchequer in 1520; speaker of the house of commons in 1523; and had the great seals delivered to him Oct. 15, 1530; being the first layman that ever held that office; the duties of which he executed for near three years with a most exemplary diligence, a true magnanimity, and a most incorrupted integrity; and resigned, May 16, 1533. His inflexibility in denying the king's supremacy drew on him the wrath of Henry VIII; he was committed to The Tower in 1534; and beheaded July 5, 1535. He was the author of many and various works; though only his Utopia is now read, the other being chiefly of the polemic kind, and in a defence of a cause which could not be supported. His English works were collected and published, by order of queen Mary, in 1557; his Latin, at Basil, in 1563, and at Lorrain in 1566.

^d "You'd weep, if sure you'd but one month to stay;
"Yet laugh, uncertain of a single day!"

age and infirmity) held a general council at Cassels, the king having persons commissioned by him then present, where were several canons made; especially "De Matrimoniis contrahendis, de Decimis dandis, &c. Ecclesiæ illius ad Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ formam redigere modis omnibus elaborando." The 6th Constitution is, "Quod universi fideles, in infirmitate positi, confessore suo et vicinis astantibus, &c." might dispose of their effects. This was a very good law. Nothing encourages trade more than a liberty of disposing by will; that so what a man has got by his labour and industry may come to his children. The Act of intestates' estates has made a very good disposition for all persons.

The king's sons rise against him whilst he is there. The great inconveniences which happened upon his not being able to settle that kingdom. See more, p. 782; and in the same page, and the next, we have a very large character of king Henry, and a description of his person.

P. 787. The king gets a privilege for Ireland from Pope Adrian, an Englishman. See the Life of Pope Adrian. The kings of Ireland had all submitted, and sworn to king Henry before this confirmation of the Pope, "Qui insulas omnes sibi speciali quodam jure vindicat."

M. Paris (p. 71.) tells us of an odd method the king made use of to get money. "Rex Anglorum Henricus tenuit magnum concilium apud Londonias, in kalendis Augusti, de sacerdotum focariis prohibendis. Assuerunt concilio illi Wilhelmus Cantuariensis et Turstanus Eboracensis archiepiscopi, cum suis suffraganeis, quos omnes simplicitate Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Rex Henricus decepit; concesserunt namque regi justitiam de focariis Sacerdotum, quæ res postea cum summo dedicare terminabatur percepit enim Rex pecuniam infinitam de Presbyteris pro focariis suis redimendis."

In M. Misson's New Voyage to Italy, vol. I. printed 1699, at Nuremburg, he says, p. 68, he saw a Treatise of Predestination, printed at Spire, 1446^e; and another by Faustus, at Mentz, 1459.

^e This date was certainly a mistake, as the art of printing was then quite in its infancy even at Mentz, where no book appears to have been printed earlier than 1442; and the first essays at Spire were those of Peter Drach in 1477. See "The Origin of Printing," p. 75.

P. 74. The common opinion is, that Berthold Schwartz, a Franciscan, found out guns and powder at Nuremburg, anno 1378.

I may venture to affirm, that neither sieges nor battles have been so bloody since the invention of fire-arms, as before. Great guns were first put into ships, by the Venetian admiral Barbarigo; and the famous Bartholomæw Coglione first brought artillery into the field: for, before his time, the only use of these machines was to batter the walls of towns. Monf. de Fabert, who has lately published the History of the Dukes of Burgundy, assures us, that the first essay which was made of them was against the fort of Preux.

P. 83. The trade of Augsburg decayed as that of Holland increased: almost all merchandizes which came from the Mediterranean were formerly landed at Venice, and from thence brought to Augsburg; from which place they were dispersed through all Germany. But Holland has taken away all, and distributes all; and Augsburg suffers, as well as Venice, Milan, Antwerp, and an infinite number of other Cities, which are at present as poor as formerly they were rich.

P. 100. Among the rarities in the Elector of Bavaria's palace at Munich, are two Ecclesiastical books; one written by the Emperor Maximilian; the other covered with an embroidery of pearls and precious stones, wrought by Mary queen of England.

P. 101. Among the treasures, two large purses, full of Bavarian pearls, of the bigness of small nuts, and very white. These pearls are fished-for, in the river Ill; one half that are found belong to the emperor, the other to the elector of Bavaria. What fishing for pearls we may have on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland?

Vitruvius, who lived in the time of Augustus, speaks of Mosaic work, under the terms of "Opus sectile, pavimenta sectilia, "opera musæa et musiva." It was also called "opus tessellatum, "et vermiculatum." For want of natural stones, they use pastes and compositions of glass, and enamels made in a crucible, which take a most lovely, shining colour, and never stain. King Edward the Confessor's tomb, and the pavement of the altar, in Westminster-abbey, are Mosaic work, &c.

To make a Dictionary of Trade and Merchandize, and all their Implements. Dr. Scattergood took great pains to furnish his Latin Dictionary with them.

Alexander the Third was a haughty man; he had at last the pleasure to triumph over the Emperor and four Anti-popes. When he fled into France, two Kings, Lewis and Henry II, alighted from their horses, to take his bridle, and lead his horse.

P. 251. Ancona, though in the Ecclesiastical State, yet traders of all religions may live there, provided they make no public exercise of any besides that of the country. They whiten wax very well at Ancona.

P. 269. Between Macerata and Tolentino, they plant great reeds to prop up the vines, and make use of buffaloes to draw their ploughs. These animals are far stronger than oxen, and eat less. Why have we not them in England and Ireland, and Dromedaries and Camels? The Indian Corn I have seen in England grow with vast reeds, which would be of great use. Whether Rice would not grow upon boggy ground? To try to sow all sorts of things upon Bogs.

P. 274. Beyond Spoleto, the mountains are covered with Laurel, Wild Olives, Tamarinds, Evergreen Oaks, &c.

Of our fine Pictures in England, there are the Cartons of Raphael; my cousin Harcourt's fine pieces of Paulo Veronese; the duke of Somers's fine Pictures, Statues, &c. The loss of Holbein's Picture^f at Whitehall. We take up with Collections of Prints. Holbein's a great deal of. King Henry VIII. at Christ-Church. Van Dyck^b, and many at Cornbury.

In the Villa Justiniani, just without Rome, is to be seen this Epitaph: "Hic sita est Amygone Marci optima et pulcherrima

^f The admirable portraits of Henry VII and Henry VIII, on the wall of the palace at Whitehall; which perished when that building was burnt. Vertue engraved a fine plate from a copy of them.

^g This excellent painter was born at Basil in 1498; and died of the plague at London in 1554. His own portrait is in the delivery of the charter of Bridewell.

^b Sir Anthony Van Dyck, the illustrious disciple of Rubens, was born at Antwerp in 1599, and died at London in 1641. It is recorded of this artist, that he frankly confessed, he painted in the former part of his life for fame, and in the latter for his kitchen. Yet no artist, of any age, except Titian, stands in competition with him.

“Lanifica, pia, pudica, fungi casta Domifeda.” It were happy for our tradesmen if they could place this upon their wives at their deaths.

P. 388. Andrew Delphosso, a Jesuit, wrote an excellent Treatise of Painting and Architecture, and knew very well how to practise both. Who wrote our first Book of Rules of Architecture or Painting in England? William of Wykehamⁱ.

P. 240. Adria, that ancient and famous city which gave its name to the Gulf, is now but a pitiful half-drowned village.

Quære, the first Book printed in England? I believe in wooden characters^k. Quære, when first in Greek and Hebrew? Day in the first Saxon. The Polyglott, a great work. The Oxford press most variety. Sir Harry Savile’s Chrysofom^l, a great work. Quære, if not the greatest, considering the largeness of the book, and fineness of character?

He that will consider the advancement of our Poetry in England, let him see the verses from Westminster, upon the mournful subject of the loss of the duke of Gloucester. There are some, from persons not much above his own age, which may vie with most of the Moderns, and have a great relish of the Antients.

Misson, p. 23. The East India Company of Amsterdam is so powerful, that it has made head against princes, without interrupting its traffick^m; and yet it was established but in the year 1594.

ⁱ This munificent founder of Winchester College was born in 1324; was nominated to the see of Winchester in 1366; appointed lord chancellor in 1367; and died Sept. 27, 1404. His life, elegantly written by Bp. Lowth, was published in 1759, 8vo.

^k This conjecture was well founded. The first production of the Oxford press, by Corfellis, appears to have been from wooden types. See Origin of Printing, p. 11.

^l Printed in Greek, in 3 volumes folio, 1613, at the expence of 8000 pounds. The learned editor was born Nov. 30, 1549; and was Greek tutor to queen Elizabeth. He was made warden of Merton college in 1585; provost of Eaton in 1596; was knighted in 1604; founded the two Savilian lectureships at Oxford in 1619; and died Feb. 19, 1621-2.

^m What would our Author have said to the still more astonishing progress of European merchants in the present century?

P. 284. Cork trees in Italy; they resemble the Evergreen Oak, and bear acorns. When you strip other trees of their bark, they die; but this grows stronger, and produces a new coat. I have seen a Cork tree grow at Cornbury. Why may we not have them in England and Ireland? See the nature of the soil they are to grow in. Does not our Cork use to come from France?

P. 113. At Amras, a house of pleasure, near Inspruck, a cross-bow has 34 bows, and discharges 34 arrows.—An engine in the Tower of London, with a vast number of musket-bores.

P. 122. He tells us of vessels made of Ambergris, and that it is a substance fit to be wrought.

Henry, son to Henry II, crowned king of England. His death, Girald. Comb. Hib. Expugnata, p. 799. He says, his brother Geoffry, “totius mali incentor.” He has before, in the Topographia, the character of a cunning, subtle person; “Ulysses in patrem tertio recedens.” John, a favourite both of father and mother, never disobliged them. Ibid. Dominion of Ireland to John. See p. 805. His family of Normans, &c. p. 810, relating to Ireland. The love of the king and queen to John, who never disobliged them, gave umbrage to all the brothers; and Richard, fighting for the assurance of the crown, durst not go to the Holy Land without him. The king a severe father when they grew up, but excessively tender before. Thomas Becket sent to fetch him and Margaret his wife from Paris. Walf. Ypod. Neust. p. 446. Margaret was daughter to Lewis the young. She married this young king Henry, surnamed by the French *Court-mantel*; and afterwards was widow to Bela III, king of Hungary; crossed herself, and went to the Holy War. See Maimbourg.

Pope Adrian, an Englishman. See his Letters to king Henry about Ireland, and the inatter that the king wrote to the Pope, after the Council of Cassels. That the Pope sent the king a ring for Investiture, which was laid up in the treasury at Winchester. See M. Paris, Hist. p. 95. His Lives of the Abbots, p. 66. See in our Ecclesiastical Histories what good he did for his country. See the Popes Lives by their Medals. See p. 788, of Cambrensis, what this Letter of the Pope’s was after the kings of Ireland had sworn to king Henry. Quære, what have we of Pope Adrian’s in the Decretals; or in all the Histories of the Popes?

M. Paris,

M. Paris, p. 74. Anno 1135. The bishops of Winchester and Salisbury were by, when king Stephen took his Uncle's treasure, which was 100 pounds (printed "centum 4," which occasioned great mistakes) besides jewels and plate: but in the various readings, "centum millia libras," which sounds nearest truth.

Anno 1140. William bishop of Winchester stands for king Stephen, and has his castle besieged by Maud, and repulses her, p. 78.

Anno 1142. Willielmus Wintoniensis episcopus, et Apostolicæ Sedis legatus, holds a council at London. "Eodem anno obiit "Willielmus Wintoniensis præsul, et Henricus successit; huic "vero Henrico Lucius Papa pallium misit, volens apud Wintoniam novum archiepiscopum constituere, et septem ei episcopos "assignare." This must be false; I shall put it as Henry, for it can be no other. This must be determined by consulting the Ecclesiastical Histories. See Dugdale, of Glastonbury. Quære, as to the archbishoprick, what were the seven bishopricks to be? Matthew Paris himself clears up this matter.

P. 74. Was by when Stephen took Henry's treasure. And the next year, viz. anno 1136, p. 76. when king Henry's body being brought from Caen (Cadomum), and was buried at Reading, in an abbey of his own foundation, with great solemnity and magnificence, where the king and many of the nobility were present. And then Henry bishop of Winchester took away the hand of St. James from the abbey of Reading, which king Henry had sent thither in the year 1133; and they were deprived of so considerable a relick till the time of king Henry II. This seems to have been an oppression, and done by means of that power he had with his brother. What is said before, p. 78, of his holding-out castles against Maud, and p. 79, of his holding a council, must be either meant of some others, or else the name mistaken. He seems to have stood for the rights of the Church, even against his Brother, p. 77. See Spelman's Councils. Goodwin's Annals, of this Henry. See what books concerning the Abbey of Clugny and its famous men.

About making Henry an archbishop, see Malmfbury's treatise of bishops.

Anno 1222. The Jews had their misfortunes in the succeeding reign, which was that of king Henry the Third: for he designing to recover his dominions in France, which had been lost

in the time of his father, laid, in the year 1230, severe burdens upon the Ecclesiasticks, and upon the city of London; so that the Jews, having some companions in their afflictions, might more easily bear the payment of the third part of all their substance, towards so necessary an expedition.

M. Paris, p. 314, 315. In a council held by archbishop Stephen at Canterbury, anno 1222, says, "Quidam Apostata Judæus, factus ex Christiano Diaconus, judicialiter est punitus, quem Falco statim arreptum suspendi fecit." See Lindwood of this Council. Fox's Martyrs. Fuller's Church History. This passage seemed to me at first to be unintelligible, till, looking into Dr. Watts's Adversaria, p. 316, l. 26, where he speaks of the council at Oxon, held by Stephen Langton, in 1222.

M. Paris, p. 393, gives an instance of a charitable work for the conversion of the Jews; which cannot be rightly understood without consulting Dugdale's Monasticon and Stowe's Survey of London. See Tanner's Notit. Monast. See if there were no other religious houses founded on such occasions; and what were their Statutes, either here, or in other nations.

But the Jews may seem neither to have deserved this or any other favour from the English, if we consider the barbarity they were about to practise some few years afterwards. P. 409, king Henry keeping his Christmas at Westminster, in the year 1235, and the 19th of his reign, there were brought thither to him seven Jews, who had stolen a boy at Norwich, circumcised him, and kept him privately for a whole year, with an intent to have crucified him at their Passover. They were convicted of the fact, and, confessing it in the king's presence, were remanded to prison, there to expect the king's pleasure as to their punishment.

Such a fact as the forementioned could not but incense the people against the Jews, p. 431; and they had the more reason to be afraid, because, in the year following, there was a great destruction made of them in foreign parts, and particularly in Spain: so that, upon giving a great sum of money to the king, they purchased their preservation; and it was proclaimed publicly, that no one should offer them any violence or injury.

But they did not long enjoy this quiet; for about three years afterwards, Geoffry Templar, one of the king's council, imprisoned and tormented them; and laid such heavy exactions upon them, that they expected an utter extirpation. At last, after many

difficulties, they gave the third part of their ready money, debts, and chattels, that they might gain some respite from their miseries and present ruin. The occasion of this was was a murder which they had privately committed, p. 489.

In the year following, the Jews gave a fresh instance of their villany: for at Norwich they had got another boy, and, circumcising him, they named him Jurinus, and kept him to be sacrificed, in contempt of Christ crucified. But the father of the child, making diligent search after him, at last discovered that he was hid in a Jew's chamber. When this came to the ears of William Poole, bishop of the diocese, who was a very prudent circumspect person, he, with other persons of quality of the country, not suffering so great an indignity to the Christian Religion to go unpunished, seized upon all the Jews that were in the city; and when they would have sheltered themselves under the king's authority, the bishop told them, "That these things appertained to the Church, and were not to be adjudged in the King's court, when the matter in question was concerning Circumcision, and the violation of the Christian faith." So four of the Jews, being convicted of the forementioned crime, were drawn to their execution at horses' tails, and afterwards hanged upon a gibbet:

About this time, and for some years before, the Tartars made a very great and violent irruption, not only into the East, but likewise into Hungary and the upper parts of Germany, and struck terror into the whole Western empire. It was said, that they were Jews, who had for many years been shut up in the Caspian mountains; and for this reason, the Jews of these Western parts were thought to favour them. It is said, that the Jews pretended to the Christian princes, that the Tartars had signified to them, that they had their original from the same nation; and that they would have no wine but that which came from their own brethren: so the Jews said, they had now an opportunity of ridding the world of so great a plague and terror as these Tartars were to them.

Pope Alexander the Sixth was so liberal as to divide the whole undiscovered world between the kings of Spain and Portugal. Time may see another emperor in Rome.

In Peru, never any of the Ynca's subjects were guilty of treason. All that was got in their wars were divided into three parts;

parts: the first, to the service of their gods; the second, to the king, court, and nobles; and the third, to the relief of the common people.

When there were no wars among those Indians, the people were busied with works of magnificence, such as palaces for their viceroys, and large ways through all the country, which exceeded those of Rome or Egypt.

The Goths seem to have come down like a deluge; not-but they had principles of honour and government, and have laid a foundation for glory. The Spaniards have their blood in their veins; than whom there cannot be a braver nation, when led or encouraged by a gallant prince: for, not to mention their conquests in the West Indies, I remember to have read in an old Author, that, when Charles the Fifth was emperor, the Transylvanians, in some difficulty, demanded but a few natural Spaniards (I am sure the number did not amount to fifty) to be their conductors: so much was their reputation in that age.

Add to this, their passing through Sclavonia, Thrace, and Greece (then the Roman dominions), and Rome itself, under Alaric the Second, who left his conquests to his son Alonsus, from whose stock the kings of Spain descended.

Theodoric was a prince of extraordinary learning and valour; inasmuch that Italy, which before was made a thorough-fare to the barbarous nations, and quite disordered by the frequent inundations of lust and rapine, he reduced to such a peaceable and settled government, that before his death they had quite lost the memory of their former miseries; instead whereof, a general felicity had diffused itself over all the country. Such cities as had been before defaced, he repaired, strengthened, and beautified. In his wars, he was victorious; temperate in time of peace; and, in his private carriage, discreet and affable.

A PARALLEL between HOMER and VIRGIL.

Thus much I say, that sometimes I can read Homer with greater pleasure than Virgil; and sometimes I read Virgil with more delight than I can Homer; that is, they please me according to the different temper of mind I am in when I take them up. I can read Virgil with more pleasure, because I understand his language best; I read Homer with more instruction, because he

is more full of morality; and before we decide between them in this, we must know which is the chiefest end of Poetry, Profit or Pleasure.—I would not be thought by this to deprive Virgil of Morality; for that is couched under his Fable, and is interpersed up and down his whole Book: nor Homer of Pleasure; for who is not charmed with his lofty flights, which come so near to the spirit of the inspired Prophets? It is certain that he has so many of them infused in his works, that one would almost imagine he had read and transcribed them. And who is not delighted with the majesty of his style, and the flowing numbers of his verse? It is certain he surpasses Virgil in these, as much as the Greek language exceeds the Latin. I see the copiousness of the Greek, and the severity of the Latin: *this* can compound two words with great elegance; and *that* has dialects (a great advantage), which cause a rumbling sound, give a greater license, polish the verse more, and is more expressive of the sense.—No, I do not do this; this were to abridge them both of one of the essential properties of Poetry, and to contradict a forementioned position. In short, I like them both, I praise them both; I dare not say which I like better, they are both best, and both deserve the palm; and whosoever takes it from the head of Virgil, to fix it on Homer's, does both an injury, which both, if alive, would disclaim; by ascribing to Homer more than he really deserves, and by taking from Virgil even what he doth deserve, that is, his share. And so I conclude, by pronouncing them both the great Monarchs of Learning, desiring every one to let them reign jointly over his studies, to read them both at once, and let *one* serve as a comment to the *other*.

Those Gentlemen who only equal the Æneid to the Iliad do unawares make Virgil inferior to Homer; for, if Homer wrote first, and in a barbarous age, and yet is equal to Virgil, who had the Wits of Augustus's Court to converse with and consult, to read and correct his writings; if Homer has written as well, without any advantage, as Virgil has, who had Aristotle, Longinus, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, and Horace, and all the antient Commentators and Critics to consult, who had even Homer's beauties to imitate and Homer's faults to shun, and had all the advantages that he could desire, with riches, and a retired easy life; if, I say, Homer has performed all this; we must of necessity conclude, that Homer had a greater genius and a deeper judgement,

judgement, and consequently was a greater man; and that whoever is in love with Virgil must be ravished with Homer, the King of Poets.

Homer and Virgil sometimes seem to flag, to some who cannot comprehend them; but, like the sun when eclipsed, they lose nothing of their light; it is only the clouds of our ignorance that interpose, and hinder our sight.

Manners are what distinguish the quality, and characterize the inclinations, of those who act: now Homer has succeeded very well in the *manners* which he has ascribed to his men, but failed in those he gave to the gods. What can the reason be, but that he studied the nature of the gods with less attention than he did that of man? that he knew the men better than his gods, because he was more conversant with earthly things than with celestial? Nor is Aristotle's justification of him sufficient. He says, Homer, in his characters of the gods, followed the sayings of former Poets; and the current reports for this make him countenance what he must know to be absurd, from the light of nature. Mr. Dacier's is better, but that is far from excusing him. That of Longinus is indeed a witty one; but not to be valued, because it is a weak one. Besides, wit, like truth, is not to be spoken at all times: for who can chuse but pity to see a dying hero miserably witty? He that is witty instead of being judicious in disputations, is at best but a witty fool. Good Latin is not much expected then; so neither is wit: it is enough if there be good sense, and words proper for the thoughts.

As the characters of his Gods are all blameable, so is the character of Therfites. I mean not that he has not drawn his picture true, and hit upon the true features; but that it is wrongly brought in. Gods! who can bear a Buffoon in company with Nestor? We expect the honey dropping from the mouth of this reverend old man, and are plagued with farce and jest. Who can bear a Merry Andrew among deliberating Statesmen? a Therfites in an Epopœia? Monstrous inconsistency! He that can bear this, may bear the ridiculous absurdity of a Tragi-comedy. But that is not all, a God must be a laughing-stock too; there must be a Vulcan among his deities; as if the Gods were to be made a jest on. It is true, we may laugh at them; but Homer could not without a crime, because he thought his religion as pure and unspotted as we do ours. And therefore it is as great
a crime

a crime in him to laugh at his Gods, as it would be in us to laugh at ours.

Besides, Homer has offended against other arts, as Physick, which Virgil has not done. But Virgil, in the Tenth *Æneid*, brings in Mezentius comparing himself with an horse in these words, "Phœbe, diu si qua, &c." This is a fine reflection, without doubt; but I know not wherefore he attributed this to an horse. This is one cast away, and squandered. But he followed Homer in this, lib. viii. 185. where Hector encourages his Horses, Xanthus, &c.

Virgil's work is like the organ which Trapp speaks of. Virgil had a truer idea of the gods than Homer.

Many great men stand up, and vouch for their reputations; but not one, as I know of, condemn either of them, except Zoilus.

Homer's grand moral is of more frequent application and use. Every age almost is big with the destruction of states, whose prime ministers have disagreed; but when do we see a time wherein Virgil's can be of use? I will not deny but such a time may possibly happen; but surely Homer's has, is, and ever will be. Again, Virgil has been of no use but to his own nation: for when do we see a Commonwealth changed into a Monarchy? and Virgil's can be of no use till this is done. Such a change may be. But Homer's must, if pride or ambition, if rashness or a lust of superiority, inhabit the first officers of kingdoms; and which crimes, I think, will never depart from them. I have said, Virgil's moral is of no advantage but to his own country; which cannot be said of Homer's; for that affects every kingdom of the world, whether considered by itself, or in conjunction with its allies. It affects likewise every great family, whose branches are to pursue the same interests. Kingdoms allied are advised by this to maintain a fair correspondence with one another; a separate one, to live in unity with itself. And all the branches of a numerous family are taught to agree together, lest any designing enemy foment their divisions, and so overthrow their house.

As Homer is more extensive, so is he more durable. I mean, not as to the Poem, for both will live till all things die; but in his chief Moral, which is the only thing I am talking of, and intend at present. I said, Virgil's is of no use but to his own land;

land; nor is it to that at this juncture; but Homer's does: for the state of government for which Virgil calculated his Moral is annihilated, or, which is all one, moulded into a different form. And this shews, I think, the insufficiency of Virgil's, and the great perfection of the other's, Moral: for Homer's does good even now to his own country, although it has undergone as many variations in its government as ever Rome did; and even to Rome itself. And the reason is, Virgil's relates only to a state changed from a Republick to a Monarchy; and Homer's to all: whether they be Aristocracies, or Democracies, or Monarchies; and whether the Monarchies be Elective or Hereditary; it is all the same, though every state receives a new face every century.

But here it is urged, against the extensiveness of Homer's Moral, that his language is known not to many, which Virgil's is; and consequently cannot be of instruction to so great a number of people as Virgil's. But this avails not: it is true, this is good fortune for Virgil; it does him good, but it does Homer no harm. I dare confidently affirm, that, though Homer's language is not known to so many people, yet it is to as many nations, cities, or countries, as Virgil's is: that though it is not known to innumerable multitudes, yet it is known to a sufficient number; and herein Homer is like the Bible in Popish countries, which is with-held from the Vulgar, and only vouchsafed to a small number of learned men. I would not here be thought to approve of Homer's or the Bible's being with-held: no; I only wish there were more learned, that they might be spread into more hands: for, as matter may be divided for millions of years, and yet remain sufficient to divide on to all eternity; so these may be scattered among innumerable numbers, and the farther they are diffused, still the finer they will prove.

From what has been said, you will find Virgil's a *temporary* Moral, Homer's *eternal*; Virgil's has been, Homer's is still, a good one; Virgil's may be so again, Homer's cannot be otherwise; Virgil's Moral is superlative, Homer's is one in practice; Virgil's amuses, Homer's delights and profits.

As much as pious Christians adore the Holy Scriptures, so much do learned men admire Homer and Virgil. The Old and New Testaments contain in them all that can make one good; the Iliad and the Æneid, all that can make a man learned and

polite. And therefore, in respect of men, it is full as dangerous to attempt any thing against these two Poets, as against the Oracles of God. Ye know the fates of Hobbesⁿ and Zoilus; one is stigmatized for an Atheist, the other for a Blockhead. Nay, I believe, it would not be more dangerous (for now it passes for wit) to burlesque the Bible; but it is confounded stupidity to carp at *these*.

But methinks I hear one say, why then do I carp at Homer to-day? must not I expect to lose my reputation? No; I hope not: necessity obliges me to it; I am commanded, and I must obey. And here I promise, that whatever is said against him in this Treatise shall, after I have done (for I come not to do a wilful murder on his fame), be wholly disannulled; and I will own, that it is not Homer dreams, but I that nod.

Thus the opponent in our schools, when pricked to dispute, argues as stiffly against the tenets of the Gospel, as his respondent does for them; is as solicitous to find out flaws and contradictions, and then to urge and prove them, as his antagonist is to answer and confound him; and yet is never esteemed a worse Christian: for he believes nothing he asserts, and is ready at any time to take the contrary part, and to contradict and confute whatever he said before.

In examining these two great Poets then, I shall begin with the Fables of each first, because the Fable produces the Manners. 2dly, With the Manners, which produce the Sentiments. 3dly, With the Sentiments, because they produce the Language. 4thly, With the Language, which obtains the last place, because a Poem may be perfect without the help of it. I shall shew how the one gets or loses of the other, under all the heads, and so conclude. But, to manage this rightly, I think it necessary to separate their parts, and to define them all.

First, then, for the Fable; which Aristotle defines, by calling it "the constitution of things." This contains the plot, and the unraveling; the plot comprehends all the obstacles which traverse the designs of the principal person or persons. The unraveling is all that is from the change to the end. And, as truth must be the foundation of the Fable, and fiction make the accomplishment, I shall consider their Fables as they contain a

ⁿ See vol. II. p. 142.

mixture of truth and fiction. I shall examine, likewise, as they contain the Admirable and Probable. The Admirable is all that is against the ordinary course of nature; the Probable is whatever suits with common opinion. I shall shew whether they be simple or compound, intricate or moral, or passionate and pathetic. I shall consider their unities of action and time; for an Epic Poem has no unity of place, it not being Active, as Tragedy, but Narrative; that is, delivered by the Poet, not by the mouth of Actors: though there are sometimes Narrations in Tragedies too, and Active Speeches in the Epopœia; but these are seldom. And, after all, I intend to observe the Episodes and Machines.

In a Poem (as has been intimated) the subject and design ought to obtain the first place.

The Design consists of two parts; of truth and fiction intermixed. Truth is the foundation, and fiction makes the accomplishment.

The Design, or Fable, is simple or compound: the simple has no change of fortune; the compound has, either from good to bad, or from bad to good. And this is preferable to the simple, because it has more variety in it.

Fable is essential to Poetry; and, besides the two parts already mentioned, that compose it, it must yet have two qualities, to be perfect: it must be Admirable, and it must be Probable. The Admirable is (as has been said) all that which is against the ordinary course of nature; the Probable is, whatever suit with common opinion.

The Manners in a Poem have the second place, viz. the next to the Plot, and are the causes of the Action.

Thoughts and Sentiments obtain the third place. These are properly the expressions of the Manners, as words are the expressions of the Thoughts; and their office, says Aristotle, is to approve or dislike; to stir or to calm the passions; to magnify or diminish things.

The last part is the Expression, and whatever regards the Language; and it must have five qualities to take, viz. *apt, clear, natural, splendid, numerous.*

An Heroic Poem is the Imitation of an Heroic Action: it must be *one, and simple; true, or what passes for true; and it must be happy, commendable, and entire*.*

* Rapin on Homer, vol. II. p. 186.

The Action must neither be too vast, nor too much limited.

There must be a simple and scrupulous unity of Action.

I take the pleasure of Poetry to be the profit, as the gilding is to the pill: this makes it go down; for men that would not mind their profit yet pursue their pleasure, as children would not swallow the pill, though it is that which cures them, if it was not gilded p.

Homer and Virgil chaste as Vestals, and virtuous as Philosophers q.

Rapin affirms r, that no man, besides Virgil and Homer, had the discretion to leave a thing when it was well. And in his comparison of Homer and Virgil s, he asserts Homer to be redundant, and to carry things too far.

He says likewise t, that the most judicious, the most admirable, the most perfect, design of all antiquity is that of Virgil in the *Æneid*. All is great and noble, all proportionable to the subject, which is the establishment of the empire of Rome; to the Hero, who is *Æneas*; to the glory of Augustus and the Romans, for whom it was composed. Nothing is weak or defective in the execution; all there is happy, all is just, all is perfect.

Yet Homer and Virgil offend against probability. Thus Homer makes Stentor's voice louder than that of fifty men; and Virgil makes a bough of gold to grow on a tree u.

But Homer sometimes offends (according to Longinus) against the manners. He makes the Gods (contrary to their character) obnoxious to wounds, adulteries, and hatred w.

Great Poetry, such as Epic Poetry, must be animated and sustained by great thoughts and great sentiments: but Homer is low on high subjects, and consequently faulty. A grave Poem ought to be grave and serious; but Homer degenerates into Burlesque x: and Homer's battles are liable to censure.

OF DIDACTIC DISCOURSES.

Didactic Discourses are maxims and general propositions, which contain known truths, and are only applied in the Play,

p P. 138. Rapin on Poetry, p. 136, &c.

q Fracastorius, Syphilis, vol. II. p. 148.

r Vol. II. p. 149.

s In the First Volume.

t Vol. II. p. 152.

u P. 157.

w P. 159.

x P. 62.

according as the subject will allow; tending more to instruct the audience in the rules of morality, than to explain any part of the intrigue on foot.

There are two sorts, Physical and Moral ones. The Physical make a description of the nature, qualities, or effects, of any thing, without distinction; whether natural, or supernatural, or artificial compounds. The Moral contain all maxims of Religion, or Politicks, or Oeconomicks, or all instructions that regard human life.

These Didactics are in themselves unfit for the Stage, because they are only instructive to the mind, and not moving to the heart; but may be brought on the Stage, if they are brought in a pathetic manner, as Sophocles's are. Hence the pedantic character of a Governour, or Doctor, is disgustful to the audience. These often give advice in the midst of the most violent passions; which is not the time, nor the Stage the proper place, for these instructions.

This sort of deliberations ought to be great, noble, and extraordinarily uncommon; such as Augustus's, when he deliberated whether he should lay down or keep the sceptre.

The motive that brings them upon the Stage ought to be necessary and urgent; not only in the person deliberating, but in relation to all the persons concerned in the action.

These deliberations must be upheld by strong sense and reasoning, because they are incapable of any great figures.

We must not bring in these deliberations when the Stage is in the heat of action and in the depth of intrigues, because they cool the Stage, and defeat the expectation of the audience: nor in the beginning, because then there has not been any passion agitated which might produce them; but in the beginning of the second or third act, that they may have some foundation upon what is already done, and some influence upon what remains to do.

These deliberations ought not to be made all in a breath, without interruption from some of the counsellors, for that gives warmth to the coolness of the stage: and, above all, they ought to be short; for, being void of figures, they will be tedious; but yet I would have the Poet bring in Apostrophes, Prosopœias, Hypotiposes, &c.; in doing which, he must use much art, figures not regularly entering into deliberation of the Play, whether at the opening of the stage, or in the course of the action; but ab-

solutely insupportable towards the catastrophe, because then the Spectators are impatient to know how the intrigue turns, and are disposed to give out. But a Narration at the opening of the stage may be longer than any where else, for then the Spectator is fresh. Every Narration ought to quicken the stage, and lay the foundation of some new passion; to obtain which, it must be short, pithy, and full of life and warmth.

A Narration may be made two ways, either piece-meal, or all at once. The first is the practice of the best Poets, and is the best, because it leaves the Spectators in expectation of some novelty. These Narrations may be made by several persons, and at different times. As thus: when he that tells it knows not the whole story; or when part of it is not yet come to pass; or when he is interrupted by some one, though this must be done with art.

And Narrations may likewise be divided into simple and pathetic. The first delivers the bare tale; the second exaggerates the circumstances of the adventure. The first ought always to be short; this is often necessary, as when Narrations may be made in other parts; but it is dangerous to use them in the fourth Act; for you hazard discovering the catastrophe, which is near, or leaving the Spectators in obscurity, by delaying it so long.

A Narration serves to make clear and intelligible, or to adorn, the Dramatic Poem; and therefore they should not be obscure, and loaded with circumstances difficult for the audience to retain distinctly; such are genealogical ones: or with a great number of names, or a chain of actions embroiled one with another.

And Narrations are tedious and faulty, if they do not contain things necessary or agreeable; if they are made with weak and faint expressions; and if they be too long.

The length of Narrations may be distinguished into two sorts. The first is, when a Narration is filled with too many incidents and names of persons or places. The second is, when it contains too many words; as when the circumstances of an action are too much exaggerated, and particularized in minute and insignificant things; as when the expressions are too full of Epithets, Adverbs, and other unnecessary terms, with repetitions of the same thing, though in a different way.

R E M A R K S

O N

T H E R E P U B L I C K S.

TH E Works of these Authors are, as it were, the school, or place of exercise, in which such young beginners as would establish their future actions upon the most necessary and universal foundations should practise and improve themselves before they enter into the more abstruse study of Political Learning.

For there, distinctly and at large, they may find all those things treated of, which concern the fundamental and common principles of human society; the regular kinds of common-weals, or their several depravations; the laws and institutes of government by the people, or Democracy; by the nobility, or Aristocracy; by a single person, or Monarchy; the rise, increase, change, and fall, of empires; the mutual offices of Prince and Subjects; the rights of Peace and War; the choice of Magistrates; the levying of Taxes: and many other things, whose serious consideration is requisite to fortify the minds of such persons as desire to be conversant in the administration of public affairs. They who are fully instructed and grounded in these precepts, if they would make any farther progress, and surmount such other difficulties as will occur in this sort of learning, should frame to themselves some general heads, or common-places, under which they may range the several matters dispersed amidst a confused and incredible number of Authors which treat on that subject.

Treaties and Leagues made with neighbouring powers, are likewise of the greatest moment to persons who study Politicks; for they cannot but be esteemed very wholesome and necessary for the benefit of commonwealths and princes; whether made to repel the invasion of an enemy, for preservation of trade and com-

7 A set of books which treat of the rise and fall and policy of states.
merce,

merce, or any other urgent occasion. I must confess myself to be much troubled and concerned, that I cannot enumerate all those Authors who may have enlarged more considerably upon this head; but I well remember that there are many things in the Works of Le Brun ^z, which may be useful in that matter; and that, amongst the Politicians, there is a Book of Johannes Boterus, intituled, “La Lega, or the League, &c.”

^z Antony Le Brun, an ambassador of Spain, famous for his skill as a negotiator. He was born at Dole in 1600, and died at The Hague in 1654. He is styled by Balzac “the Demosthenes of Dole.”

R E M A R K S

O N

Bishop WILKINS'S^a WORLD in the MOON.

IT was inscribed by Mercurius Britannicus to that worthy and noble Lord Henry Earl of Huntingdon. One Mr. William Knight was the Publisher of it, who tells us in his Preface, that the reader, without the danger of waves, tempests, or the fear of want or shipwreck, is conducted safe to a *new World*; which, if considered as to the largeness of the country, the situation of the provinces, the habits, manners, and inclinations of the people, appears so like the *old one*, that you might doubt at first, whether it be *another*, or *the same*. It might be imagined that the world in its *old age* had produced an offspring entirely resembling itself: for, as the Poet says,

“ ’Tis from the genial moisture in the root,
 “ That verdant buds proceed, and juicy fruit.
 “ So in their seed fathers to sons transmit
 “ Their vigorous strength and more prevailing wit.”

But that the World, which is not only *sixty* but *six thousand* years old, should *procreate*, is a thing beyond all philosophy and reason: for, had it been endued with that power, the number of *younger Worlds* had been so great by this time, that Alexander would have been so far from *wanting them*, that they would rather have *wanted Alexanders* to *conquer them*. I am therefore more easily induced to think, that the World here described is that mentioned by the Platonists, which the Ancients called the Invisible and the Ideal World, which has lain hid so long till exposed to the sight by the help of this Magic Artifice. And yet it

^a See an account of this Prelate, vol. II. p. 168.—The title of the Book here meant was, “The Discovery of a new World; or, a Discourse tending to prove that it is probable there may be another World in the Moon; with a Discourse concerning the Possibility of a Passage thither, 1538.” 8vo. It was written when he was only 24 years old.

had still remained under that darkness, if the Author had had his own desire: for he, having taken his farewell of all those philological studies, in which he had been an exquisite master, and given himself wholly up to the contemplation of Theology, resolved to suppress all his former compositions which did not tend to that subject. In this resolution he always firmly persisted; and therefore the Publisher complains of any breach of friendship that he may seem to have made; and desires the Reader, if he is pleased or instructed by this Book, to become intercessor with the Author for his pardon.

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"The first the divine motions in the soul."
"The second the progress and state of the soul."
"Do in their last labours to the end."
"Their eternal rewards and punishments."

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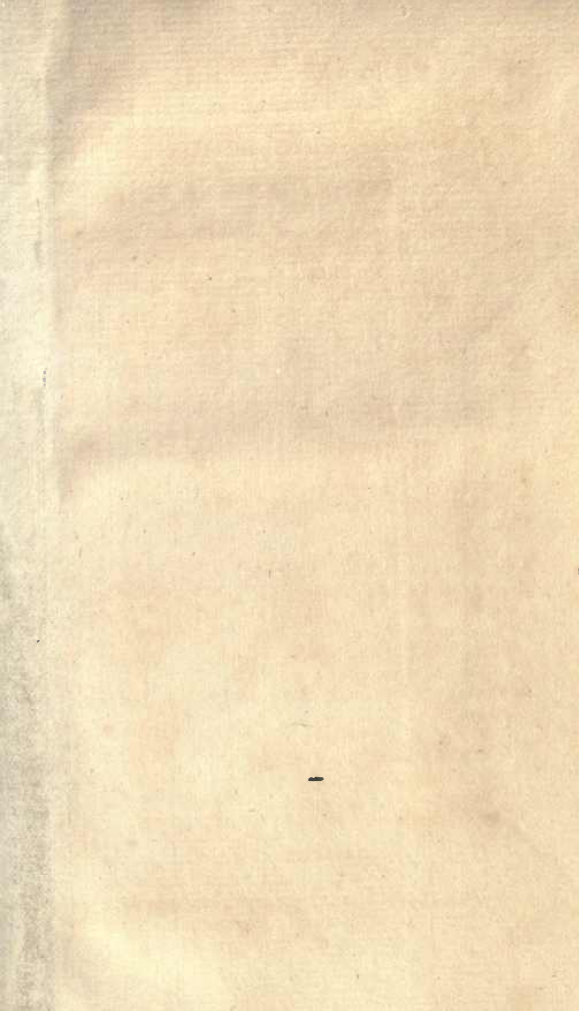
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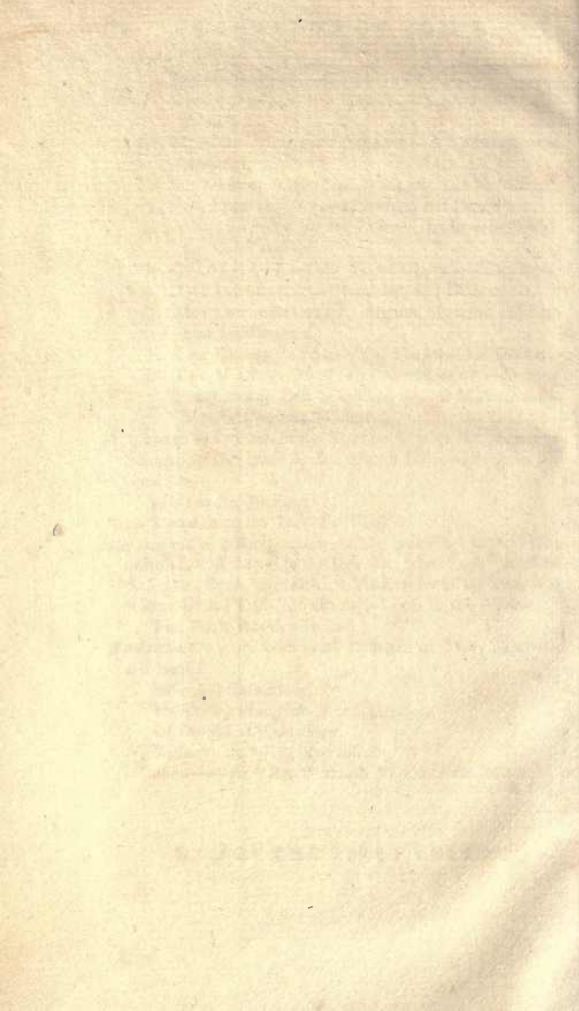
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